INSTITUTE OF
INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
IN HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Addleton
Academic
Publishers
NEW YORK



Journal of Research in Gender Studies

Volume 4(1) • 2014

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE ASSOCIATION • NEW YORK

Journal of Research in Gender Studies

VOLUME 4(1) • 2014

ADDLETON ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS • NEW YORK

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
An international peer-reviewed academic journal
Volume 4 / Number 1 / 2014
Copyright © 2014 by the Contemporary Science Association, New York

Journal of Research in Gender Studies is a peer-reviewed bilingual interdisciplinary journal that aims to publish critical and theoretical constructive contributions across the large spectrum of humanities – literature, law, history, philosophy, religion, and visual and performing arts (including music and theatre), anthropology, area studies, communication studies, cultural studies, and linguistics, social sciences, behavioral sciences, medicine and public health, science and technology, democracy studies, women's studies, men and masculinity studies, queer studies. All submissions should be written in English or French. • Acceptance Rate (2013): 18.62%

Journal of Research in Gender Studies is published twice a year (July and December) by Addleton Academic Publishers, 30-18 50th Street, Woodside, New York, 11377. All papers in this journal have undergone editorial screening and anonymous double-blind peer-review. ISSN 2164-0262**,** OCLC Number: 780797930.

Publishing Executive Editor: Ramona Mihaila. Online submissions to: ramona.mihaila@addletonacademicpublishers.com

Consulting Editor: Onorina Botezat, botezat@addletonacademicpublishers.com
Book Review Coordinator: Carmen Ghinea, ghinea@addletonacademicpublishers.com
Editorial Assistant: Silvia Tita, tita@addletonacademicpublishers.com
Project Editor: Julie Paulesc, paulesc@addletonacademicpublishers.com
Assistant Editor: Gabriela Iliuta, iliuta@addletonacademicpublishers.com
Assistant Editor: Elizabeth Edgecomb, edgecomb@addletonacademicpublishers.com

Addleton Academic Publishers is an imprint of RIOTS, New York.

Please direct subscription, contributions, back-issue requests, and address changes to editors@addletonacademicpublishers.com

Produced in the United States of America

MARKETING

The marketing strategy for ***Journal of Research in Gender Studies*** is designed to maximize *the* Journal's profile, reach and readership. This is achieved through: targeted electronic marketing to relevant contacts; promotion at conferences globally; highlighting the best content in the Journal; and attracting the best authors to publish in the Journal.

MANUSCRIPT CATEGORIES

Journal of Research in Gender Studies publishes research papers, review papers, conference papers, short communications, and book reviews.

INDEXING AND ABSTRACTING

Journal of Research in Gender Studies is indexed and/or abstracted in CEEOL, China National Knowledge Infrastructure Database, DeepDyve, EBSCO, Gale, HeinOnline, IBSS, Index Islamicus, ProQuest, and Ulrich's Periodicals Directory.

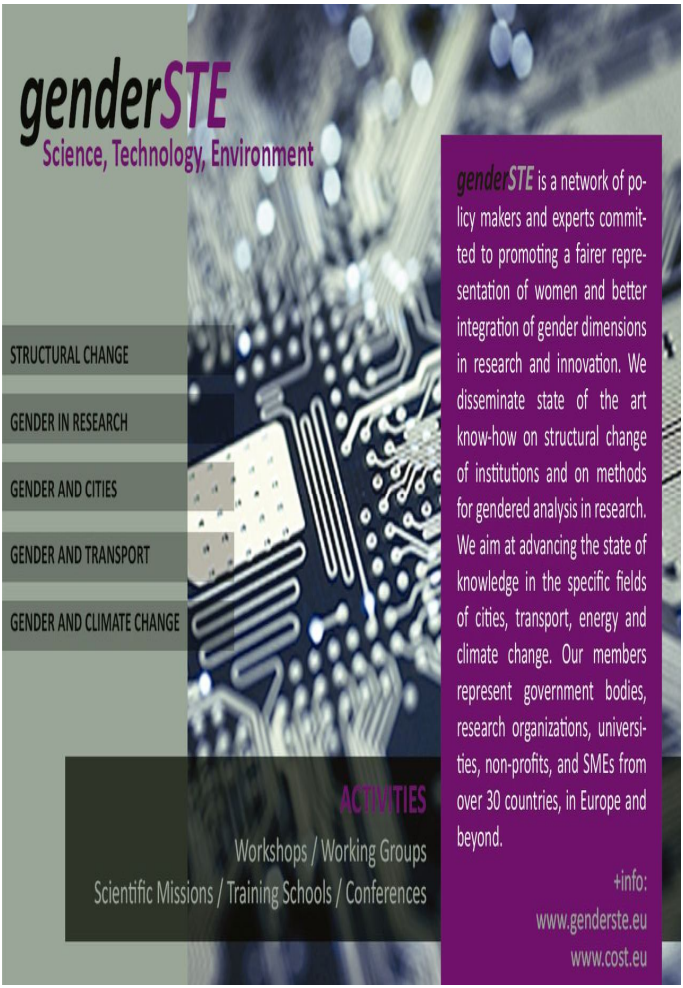
EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Anna Babka University of Vienna
Marianne Baudin Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris XIII
Bouchra Benbella University Mohamed I, Oujda
Mónica Bolufer University of Valencia
Olga A. Burukina Moscow State Linguistic University
Frédéric Canovas Arizona State University
Claire M Crabtree University of Detroit
Zoe Dirse Sheridan College Toronto
Corrine Fournier-Kiss University of Fribourg
Arianne M. Gaetano Auburn University
John Heath University of Vienna
Susanne Hochreiter University of Vienna
Nancy Honicker Université de Paris VIII
Nancy Isenberg University of Rome III
Alenka Jensterle Doležalová Karlovy University
Greg Kucich University of Notre Dame
Justine Legrand Paris Sorbonne University
Hélene Lenz Université de Strasbourg
Ma Li Nesna University College
Isabel Lousada Nova University, Lisbon
Pamela McCauley Bush University of Central Florida
Montserrat Serrano Mänes Universidad de Granada
Anne Marie Miraglia University of Waterloo
Mechthild E. Nagel State University of New York, Cortland
Barbara Nelson University of Bucharest
Efstratia Oktapoda Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV
Arnaud Paturet CNRS/ENS, Paris
Katja Mihurko Poniz University of Nova Gorice
Najib Redouane California State University, Long Beach
Klas Roth Stockholm University
Marie Nedregotten Sørbø Volda University College
Sabbar Sultan Middle East University, Amman
Brigitte Urbani Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence
Susanne Maria Weber Philipps-Universität Marburg
Carolyn Wells Kraus University of Michigan, Dearborn

Scholars whose papers have been published in *Journal of Research in Gender Studies* include:

Anna Babka University of Vienna
Viviane de Beaufort ESSEC Business School
Yolanda Beteta Complutense University of Madrid
Jacques Brunet-Georget Université Bordeaux III

Josefina Bueno Alonso Université d'Alicante
Frédéric Canovas Arizona State University
Laura Ceia California State University, Long Beach
Peter Clar University of Vienna
Anna Cotter University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Claire Crabtree University of Detroit
Carmen Cusack University of Alaska Southeast
Zoe Dirse Sheridan College, Toronto
Kim Anh Duong University of Waikato
John Heath University of Vienna
Susanne Hochreiter University of Vienna
Nancy Honicker Université de Paris VIII
Bobbi Hopkins University of New England, Armidale
Katherine Hunt University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Ronald C. Inglehart University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Ronald F. Inglehart University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Carolyn Kraus University of Michigan-Dearborn
Karen Larwin Youngstown State University
Justine Legrand Université Paris-Sorbonne
Timothy C. Lim California State University, Los Angeles
Inés Sánchez de Madariaga Technical University of Madrid
James M. Magrini College of Dupage, Glen Ellyn
Montserrat Serrano Mänes Universidad de Granada
Artemis Michailidou Hellenic Military Academy
Anne Marie Miraglia University of Waterloo
Ramey Moore University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
Barbara Nelson Michigan State University
Dzung Kieu Nguyen State University of New York, Albany
Efstratia Oktapoda Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV
Arnaud Paturet CNRS, Paris
Najib Redouane California State University, Long Beach
Rabia Redouane Montclair State University
Alison Rice University of Notre Dame
Anne Soronen University of Helsinki
Lucy Summers University of Queensland
Christian Welzel University of Leuphana


genderSTE
Science, Technology, Environment
STRUCTURAL CHANGE
GENDER IN RESEARCH
GENDER AND CITIES
GENDER AND TRANSPORT
GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE
ACTIVITIES
Workshops / Working Groups
Scientific Missions / Training Schools / Conferences
genderSTE is a network of policy makers and experts committed to promoting a fairer representation of women and better integration of gender dimensions in research and innovation. We disseminate state of the art know-how on structural change of institutions and on methods for gendered analysis in research. We aim at advancing the state of knowledge in the specific fields of cities, transport, energy and climate change. Our members represent government bodies, research organizations, universities, non-profits, and SMEs from over 30 countries, in Europe and beyond.
+info:
www.genderste.eu
www.cost.eu



www.aeihm.org

The Spanish Society for Women's History (Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres-AEIHM) was founded in June 1991 as a development of the National Commission of the IFRWH (International Federation for Research in Women's History), federation of which it is now a member. For over twenty years, it has developed many activities in order to promote research, teaching and dissemination of women's and gender history, as well as the theoretical and methodological renewal of the historical discipline, through conferences and seminars, workshops, publications, awards, dissemination of its own and others' activities through website and mailing list and participation in collective actions. It has currently 300 members.

Its aims are to promote and spread women's and gender history through research, teaching at different academic levels, and outreaching to society at large. On an annual basis, and continuously since 1993, AEIHM has been held international conferences and seminars for discussion between national and foreign specialists in women's and gender history.

The last ones held are: Salamanca (2012): *XVI International Symposium AEIHM*. "Eating the Forbidden Fruit: Women, Science and Creation through History;" Madrid (2011): *IV International Seminar AEIHM*. "Foucault's Influences in Historiography. Powers, Bodies and Desires;" and Bilbao (2010): *XV International Symposium AEIHM*. "Women and History. Dialogues between Spain and Latin America."

To these regular meetings it should be added the co-organization of: Gender and Postcolonial Studies in Question (s). III European Meeting (Barcelona, June 2012), in collaboration with: Fédération de Recherche sur le Genre (RING), Institut Interuniversitati d'Estudis de Dones i Gènere; Grup de Recerca Consolidat Multiculturalisme i Gènere (Universitat de Barcelona).

AEIHM announces two awards, both on a biennial basis: Doctoral Thesis Award (sixth edition awarded in 2012); Research Award for Women's History (AEIHM-AHS, Asociación de Historia Social) (sixth edition convened in 2013).

Publications: Series "History and Feminism," in collaboration with Icaria publishers. Last published volumes: Pilar Perez-Fuentes Hernández (ed.), *Between Two Shores: Women in the History of Spain and Latin America*, Icaria, Barcelona, 2012, ISBN: 978-84-9888-310-7. Pilar Perez-Fuentes Hernández (ed.), Subjectivity, material culture and gender: dialogues with Italian historiography, Icaria, Barcelona, 2010, ISBN: 978-84-9888-279-7. Gloria A. Franco Rubio (ed.), *Debates on Motherhood from a Historical Perspective (XVI-XX Centuries)*. Icaria, Barcelona, 2010, ISBN: 978-84-9888-233-9. Forthcoming: Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Henar Gallego (eds.) *Foucault's Influences in Historiography. Powers, Bodies and Desires*.

SUBMISSION INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

Addleton journals consider all manuscripts on the condition that (i) the manuscript is your own original work, and does not duplicate any other previously published work, including your own previously published work, and (ii) the manuscript has been submitted only to our journal; it is not under consideration or peer review or accepted for publication or in press or published elsewhere. Please note that we use an anti-plagiarism software to screen manuscripts for unoriginal material. There are no submission or publication fees. Copyright will be retained by authors. As an author, you will receive free access to your article and to the journal's archive. Addleton Academic Publishers provides authors or their research sponsors and funders with the option of paying a publishing fee and thereby making an article permanently available for free online access – *open access* – immediately on publication to anyone, anywhere, at any time. This option is made available once an article has been accepted in peer review.

• All submissions should be sent to editors@addletonacademicpublishers.com and to the editor-in-chief's email address. • Manuscripts may be submitted in any standard editable format. These files will be automatically converted into a PDF file for the review process.

Peer review policy
http://www.addletonacademicpublishers.com/images/Peer%20Review%20Policy.pdf
Publication ethics and publication malpractice statement
http://www.addletonacademicpublishers.com/images/Publications%20Ethics%20and%20Malpractice%20Statement.pdf

Manuscript preparation

• Manuscripts are accepted in English. Any consistent spelling and punctuation styles may be used. Please use double quotation marks, except where "a quotation is 'within' a quotation." Long quotations of 40 words or more should be indented with quotation marks. • A typical manuscript will not exceed 8000 words including tables, references, captions, footnotes and endnotes. Manuscripts that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length. • Manuscripts should be compiled in the following order: title page; abstract; keywords; main text; acknowledgements; references; appendices (as appropriate). • Abstracts of 200 words are required for all manuscripts submitted. • Each manuscript should have 6 keywords. • Section headings should be concise. • All authors of a manuscript should include their full names, affiliations, postal addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses on the cover page of the manuscript. One author should be identified as the corresponding author. Please give the affiliation where the research was conducted. Please supply a short biographical note for each author, and all details required by any funding and grant-awarding bodies as an Acknowledgement on the title page of the manuscript, in a separate paragraph. • Authors must also incorporate a Disclosure Statement which will acknowledge any financial interest or benefit they have arising from the direct applications of their research. • For all manuscripts non-discriminatory language is mandatory. Sexist or racist terms must not be used.

Style guidelines: See the sample paper on the journal's webpage.

CONTENTS

Migrant Korean Women in the US Commercial Sex Industry: An Examination of the Causes and Dynamics of Cross-Border Sexual Exploitation [9]
TIMOTHY C. LIM

Genetic Factors, Cultural Predispositions, Happiness and Gender Equality [32]
RONALD F. INGLEHART, SVETLANA BORINSKAYA, ANNA COTTER, JAANUS HARRO, RONALD C. INGLEHART, EDUARD PONARIN, CHRISTIAN WELZEL

Women on Boards: Sharing a Rigorous Vision of the Functioning of Boards, Demanding a New Model of Corporate Governance [101]
VIVIANE DE BEAUFORT, LUCY SUMMERS

Personnage féminin en miroir: Magdalena dans le film *Europolis* [141]
CORNEL GHEORGHIȚĂ

BOOK REVIEWS
The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism **[156]**
Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization **[159]**

MOVIE REVIEW
French "Cinderfella" Gives a Lesson in Gender Studies **[190]**

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT
Gendered Divisions of Space/Partages Genrés de l'Espace **[195]**

INTERVIEW
« Tu ne seras jamais seule »
Interview avec l'écrivaine Karima Perrin **[202]**

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 9–31, ISSN: 2164-0262

Migrant Korean Women in the US Commercial Sex Industry: An Examination of the Causes and Dynamics of Cross-Border Sexual Exploitation

TIMOTHY C. LIM
tclim@calstatela.edu
California State University, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT. Why are there so many South Korean women in the US commercial sex industry? The answer is important in large part because South Korea is a relatively prosperous country; yet, it is often assumed that the primary factors propelling the cross-border movement of women in the global sex trade are poverty and a closely related phenomenon, inequality. This article argues, however, that poverty and inequality are *not* always primary factors determining the cross border movement of women in the global sex trade. Instead, through a first-of-its-kind survey of Korean women involved in the US commercial sex industry, as well as through extensive interviews with service providers and law enforcement officials, and intensive analysis of secondary sources, I conclude that, while poverty and inequality still matter, other factors can be even more important. In the case of South Korea, these other factors include specific public policy choices, historical connections between South Korea and the US, larger patterns of cross-border migration (especially the establishment of ethnic enclaves), and cultural norms and practices. My research also highlights the importance of individual agency. These conclusions compel us to think differently about the causes and dynamics of cross-border sexual exploitation.

Keywords: migration; South Korea; US commercial sex industry; global sex trade; human trafficking; cross-border sexual exploitation

1. Introduction: "It's Not Just Poverty"

Women's participation – both involuntary and voluntary – in the global sex trade is often represented as a problem of the poorest countries. To be sure, severe poverty puts tremendous pressure on individuals to find alternative ways of earning a living; it also further exacerbates the economic vulner-

ability of both individuals and of whole communities. This, in turn, creates an undeniable basis for severe forms of labor exploitation, including cross-border sexual exploitation, often referred to as "sex trafficking" (I discuss these terms below). Given the ostensible link between national impoverishment and cross-border sexual exploitation, it is no surprise that many researchers attribute causal significance to poverty as the key force behind the global sex trade and trafficking. Consider, on this point, what Raymond and Hughes (2001) have to say: "Trafficking is precipitated by economic conditions in sending countries. Depressed, stagnant and collapsed economies, high rates of unemployment, women being driven from jobs once held, as in Russia, and desperation to find a living somewhere push women to leave their countries and make them vulnerable to the recruiters and traffickers" (p. 90). Raymond and Hughes are far from alone. Here is a similar argument (and one that has been frequently and approvingly cited by researchers, activists, and policy makers alike[1]) from the US Agency for International Development (USAID): "Trafficking is inextricably linked to poverty. Wherever privation and economic hardship prevail, there will be those destitute and desperate enough to enter the fraudulent employment schemes that are the most common intake systems into the world of trafficking" (USAID Office of Women in Development 1999, p. 5).

Neither of these (and similar) accounts is wrong. Indeed, it would be foolish to ignore national poverty as a major factor in the global sex trade. However, an exclusive or extremely narrow focus on society-wide poverty is potentially dangerous in that it may lead to an oversimplified conclusion, which is that reducing poverty will *automatically* diminish, even largely eliminate, the basis for cross-border sexual exploitation. To repeat: I have little doubt that economic growth can be ameliorative. Yet, I also argue that it is only one of many intersecting factors – and, even more, not always the most important one. Some of these other factors are relatively easy to discern. These include: economic inequality between rich and poor, both at the intra-national and international levels (see, for example, Barner, Okech, and Camp 2014); gender inequality and discrimination, especially in terms of gendered norms and practices that consign women to low-paid or unpaid work in the informal sector (for further discussion, see Heyzer 2002); and governance issues (i.e., decisions involving the allocation of resources and services in a community). In addition, it is fairly clear that other macro-level factors "such as the impacts of globalization … and conflicts and environmental disasters" (ADB 2003, p. 5) play a role in increasing vulnerabilities that feed into the global sex trade (also see Nagle 2008; Peerapeng, Chaitp, Chaiboonsr, Kovacs, and Balogh 2012; and Poulin 2003).

There are, in short, clearly a range of factors implicated in the global sex trade, but my intention is not to assess the causal significance of each

or to untangle the complex linkages among these and other (macro-level) factors. Instead, I am primarily concerned with understanding the *contingent* and *context-specific* aspects of the global sex trade. The reason for this is simple, but important: cross-border sexual exploitation does not affect all countries in a uniform manner. Some poor countries are profoundly affected, others are not. Some middle-income countries are primary sources (Laczko and Danailov-Trainor 2009) while others are major destinations. And, most interesting and perplexing of all, some rich countries continue to be significant *sources* in the global sex trade. This last situation underscores a basic point, which is that the relationship between *national* poverty and cross-border sexual exploitation is not as clear cut as many presume it to be. A focus on wealthier countries, in this regard, compels a shift in analytical attention away from society-wide poverty and related macro-level factors to a range of domestic and individual-level factors.

South Korea and the Global Sex Trade: A Paradox?

In demonstrating the variable significance of national or societal poverty to explain cross-border sexual exploitation, South Korea represents an ideal case study. The reasons for this are clear. On the one hand, South Korea is a "rich country." It is a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and since the mid-1990s, has been among the largest economies in the world (despite a relatively small population). In per capita terms, South Korea was ranked 27th in the world in 2013 (IMF 2014). The country also ranks very high in terms of "human development": based on the United Nation's Human Development Index (HDI), South Korea ranked 12th out of 177 countries in 2012 (UNDP 2013). On the other hand, I estimate that tens of thousands of women move (or have moved) from South Korea to a variety of other countries as part of the global sex trade. Many, and quite a large majority, of these women knowingly allow themselves to be smuggled across borders (that is, many women know that they will be working in the sex industry, although not necessarily as prostitutes), while only a handful are forcefully abducted or transported under entirely false pretenses. Among the women who are voluntarily smuggled, however, my research indicate that a large proportion, at some point, end up in situations of human trafficking, a point discussed below. This is significant because Korean women likely constitute one of the largest subpopulations of "migrant sex workers" in many countries, including the United States. Equally significant, my research shows that most of the Korean women who become part of the global sex trade are neither (individually) destitute nor uneducated. South Korea, therefore, represents an apparent paradox: a rich country that continues to be a major source for the global sex trade.

While the involvement of Korean women in the *global* sex trade is important, the focus of this paper is on the specific movement between South Korea and the United States. Limiting the scope of analysis makes my work more manageable, but also allows me to fulfill the goal of addressing, in a focused manner, the contingent and context-specific aspects of cross-border sexual exploitation. This more focused approach also highlights a basic, but important question. Bluntly put, why are there so many (sexually exploited) Korean women in the American commercial sex industry? My answer to this question will be presented in detail below. Suffice it to say, then, that my research centers on a set of political-legal, historical-institutional, and cultural factors. More concretely, these include specific public policy choices (e.g., anti-trafficking or anti-prostitution legislation, immigration policies in both the sending and receiving countries, and even financial regulations); the dynamics of the US-South Korean relationship; and gender-based norms and cultural practices in South Korea.

While it is important to identify and examine the broader reasons for the continuing movement of smuggled and trafficked women from South Korea to the United States, this article is equally concerned with developing an on-the-ground understanding of the individuals at the center of the process, namely, the women themselves. Indeed, an understanding of the background, motivations and experiences of trafficked and smuggled women is essential to an analysis and comprehensive explanation of the process as a whole. Even more, developing sound and effective public policies and strategies to combat sexual exploitation (including those implemented by non-governmental organizations) requires us to know more about the individual women who migrate, sometimes under very dangerous conditions, to the United States and other countries. It is partly the lack of this kind of knowledge that fuels or undergirds criticism of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking efforts by states. Critics, for example, argue that most current anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking policies – designed and implemented in a top-down fashion – are ineffective, and even counterproductive, since they fail to address the "root causes" of human trafficking (see, for example, Kempadoo 2005). They argue that, at best, state interventions do little more than suppress, or push down, trafficking in one place, while causing it to resurface, or pop up, somewhere else: the so-called, "Push down, Pop up" (PDPU) effect, also known as displacement (Marshall and Thatun 2005). Some have argued that this is exactly what happened in South Korea with the enactment of the "Act on the Punishment of Intermediating in the Sex Trade" in September 2004 (Choo, Choi, and Sung 2010/11). Included in the Korean law are strict penalties, including large fines and long prison sentences for both the owners of brothels and their patrons. Despite this, many observers in Korea have indicated that sex trafficking within Korea

continues to thrive, although it has been displaced from red light districts to more clandestine forms, including barbershops, karaoke parlors, private residences, and even cyberspace. There are also indications that the new anti-prostitution act is linked to transnational spatial displacement, as Korean traffickers/smugglers and prostitutes have looked across beyond South Korea's borders – including to the United States – as a way to circumvent a stricter domestic environment. On this particular issue, there is an obvious need for systematic study. If the critics are right, then a different policy approach is clearly necessary.

Before going any further, it is necessary to address a number of vexing issues in research on human trafficking and cross-border sexual exploitation: data collection and analysis, and terminology.

2. Notes Methodology and Terminology

As in virtually all studies of human trafficking and the global sex trade, my investigation was confronted with a range of serious methodological challenges, including sampling and sample bias, data reliability, and limited cases (i.e., the small-n problem). A central problem is clear: trafficking related research involves a "hidden population" (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005, p. 18). Few participants – all of whom are engaged in criminalized activity – want to be found or identified, and even fewer are interested in cooperating with researchers (Heckathorn 1997). For these reasons, researchers must typically rely on service providers and law enforcement officials for access to trafficked or sexually exploited individuals. Unfortunately, as Andrees and van der Linden (2005) point out, this creates a type of institutional bias, which makes "random sampling … nearly impossible" (p. 56). This institutional bias is exacerbated by the difficulty of generating a significant sample size – a problem that is certainly evident in my study, which is based on only 14 informant interviews/surveys (27 including surveys completed by a colleague conducting parallel research in another part of the United States, Sealing Cheng). Admittedly, then, I clearly have an insufficient empirical basis from which to draw hard-and-fast conclusions.

Unfortunately, there is no sure-fire way around these problems; however, there are ways to mitigate sample bias and the small-n problem. In my research, which was aided by a graduate student (Karam Yoo), I adopted several complementary strategies. First, I systematically reviewed newspaper reports (from both the U.S. and Korean media) looking for trafficking, smuggling, and prostitution cases involving Korean women in the U.S. sex industry. My research assistant and I found hundreds of articles over a 10-year period (1999–2008) and used the data from these articles to cross-check the findings from our interviews. Second, using the same strategy, I

carefully reviewed all available and relevant documentary sources, including court documents and government reports (e.g., the *Attorney General's Annual Report to Congress on U.S. Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons*); I also examined academic studies, papers, and other secondary sources, one of which included a very large survey of women working in South Korea's domestic sex industry. Third, I conducted a range of interviews with law enforcement personnel and service providers who work or interact with trafficked and exploited individuals. Fourth, I examined Internet sites that advertise for or provide information on Korean-specific prostitution-based enterprises in the United States. These sites provided a large amount of useful (albeit not verifiable) data, particularly in determining the magnitude and scope of Korean involvement in the US sex industry. Fifth, I used three recruitment strategies: (1) referrals through service providers and law enforcement; (2) newspaper advertisements in local Korean newspapers, which explained my project and asked for individuals to contact me directly; and (3) "snowball sampling" (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981; and Zhang and Chin 2002). While not a panacea, using multiple strategies not only allowed me to mitigate sample bias and the small-n problem, but also gave me greater confidence in the reliability of the primary interview data (there was, I should stress, a was a very high degree of correspondence among all sources).

Terminological Issues

Terminology can be an equally tricky issue. The term "sex trafficking," for instance, tends to be sensationalistic, and for this reason I largely eschew its use here. "Human trafficking," by contrast, is analytically more neutral and is widely used by domestic and international institutions, researchers, and others. For the purposes of this paper, however, I prefer the phrase *cross-border sexual exploitation.* To understand why, it is important to first consider how the United Nations defines human trafficking: "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime n.d.). For the most part, this definition is an adequate conceptualization of the phenomenon, but the term "trafficking" connotes (albeit does not necessitate) an *involuntary* or *forced movement.* As I suggested above, in the Korean case, most women voluntarily travel (and are usually knowingly smuggled) to the United States. Moreover, many of these women are fully aware that they will be working in the sex industry as prostitutes. At the same time, the very act of

(illegally) crossing national borders make the women more vulnerable – something that those running prostitution-based enterprises count on – and therefore more susceptible to exploitation, and especially to sexual exploitation.

3. Creating Demand: From American Soldiers to Compatriots

So, why are there so many Korean women in the American sex industry? For part of the answer, it is necessary to consider the historical and institutional origins of migration from South Korea to the US sex industry. This process began in the 1970s, when marriages between South Korean women and American soldiers served as a key mechanism of cross-border movement. A study by Hughes, Chon and Ellerman (2007) notes that traffickers and smugglers routinely paid US military personnel to bring Korean women into the US through sham marriages. In other cases, traffickers and pimps targeted Korean women who were abandoned or divorced by US soldiers in legitimate marriages. The authors suggest that *nearly all* Korean women who ended up working in the US prostitution industry during the 1970s and 1980s had a prior relationship – and usually a marriage – with a US soldier once stationed in Korea. While their evidence is anecdotal, it is persuasive: "I don't recall ever having interviewed a Korean prostitute in this country," one INS agent is quoted as saying, "that was not in the country as a result of being married to an American serviceman" (cited in Hughes, et al. 2007, p. 9). Federal officials expressed a similar view in a 1995 interview in *USA Today;* they are quoted as saying that the increasing number of Korean women working in the United States on a national prostitution circuit could be traced to one source: sham marriages to US soldiers.[2] From such statements, it is apparent that marriages between Korean women and American soldiers continued to play a role in the recruitment process until at least until the mid-1990s.

On the surface, marriage as a strategy of recruitment for the US-based prostitution industry may seem an odd choice. After all, it is a narrow channel of recruitment subject to official oversight through the military chain of command. But viewed from a wider perspective there is nothing inexplicable about this strategy. In the 1970s, South Korea was governed by a military authoritarian state that exercised tight control over the population; although emigration and overseas travel were possible, they were subject to restrictions that made it difficult for ordinary citizens to move freely across national borders. One of the most reliable ways for Korean women (without family in the US) to leave South Korea was marriage to an American citizen. And since the vast majority of unmarried American men in South Korea during the 1970s were soldiers, sham marriages became the path of

least resistance. *In this regard, the broader US-South Korean military relationship played an instrumental role in setting into motion the Korean-based sex trade in the United States.* I must emphasize, however, that it was not only because marriages provided a convenient pretext for migration; it was also because the military relationship – in particular, the very large US military presence in South Korea – came to provide an embedded source of demand in the United States from returning soldiers. On this point, it is important to note that the presence of major US military bases in South Korea, with tens of thousands of US soldiers rotating in and out constantly, led to the establishment of "military camp towns" – places where prostitution catering to US soldiers was, until recently, condoned and even officially encouraged by both Korean and US authorities (see Moon 1997). In this view, it is not hard to imagine that camp towns would be partly reproduced, complete with women from Korea, in areas around military bases when US soldiers returned home.

The reproduction of camp towns in the US, however, is likely not a product of demands by US soldiers per se. Instead, their reproduction, I surmise, is a by-product of sham marriages. To put it simply, when some of Korean women who were part of this process could no longer work *as* prostitutes, they often stayed in the sex industry by becoming owner or managers of their own prostitution-based enterprises. (This point was also made clear to us by one of my informants, who asserted that most of the Korean women who operated prostitution-based enterprises in Los Angeles' Koreatown were former prostitutes.) This was partly due to a lack of other viable economic opportunities, but also was due to the relatively low risk, high reward nature of the business. Whatever the reason, the end result was clear: the establishment of Korean-run prostitution-based enterprises in all parts of the United States.

New Modes of Recruitment, New Sources of Demand

As I have already suggested, the recruitment process has changed dramatically. Since the late 1990s, and certainly by the early 2000s, marriage as a strategy of recruitment has been replaced – perhaps completely – by other methods of recruitment. In my research (including the study by Cheng), only a single interview subject was married to an American solider.[3] Indeed, the large majority were single when they first came to the United States: of the 27 women surveyed in the US, 20 had never been married (74 percent). In addition, in a number of major anti-trafficking operations in various US cities, there is no evidence that any of the more than 300 Korean women detained as prostitutes – most of whom would have arrived in the United States after 2000 – were married to American soldiers. Instead, the recruitment of Korean women for prostitution in the United States now appears to

depend primarily, if not entirely, on word of mouth, Internet and print advertising, or job agencies. In my (Los Angeles-based) surveys, for example, 7 of 13 respondents indicated that they first learned of work opportunities in the United States through friends or acquaintances (i.e., word of mouth); three responded directly to a newspaper advertisement, and two saw an advertisement on the Internet. (In the surveys conducted by Cheng, all respondents indicated that they left Korea on their "own initiative," but there is no information on the specific source of recruitment.)

Whether through word of mouth or advertising, offers of (unauthorized) jobs in the United States were attractive because they typically promised very large sums of money – $5,000 to $30,000 a month. One internet advertisement on a Korean website (cafedaum), for example, read: "We know that in Korea these days, unemployment, the recession and the Special Law on Prostitution make it hard to earn even half of what you made before. Try a new W8–10 million a month (US$8,000–$10,000) in a bar, W18–24 million (US$18,000–$24,000) a month in a massage parlor guaranteed. Advances possible. We take care of visas and bad credit." On first glance, promises of $8,000 to $24,000 a month may seem absurd for basically low-skilled jobs (e.g. a "a bar hostess" or waitress). But, even for jobs that clearly involved prostitution, annual earnings of between $216,000 and $288,000 might appear unrealistically high. Significantly, though, a handful of women interviewed in Los Angeles did earn as much as $15,000 a month – although, equally significantly, 3 of 9 respondents were never paid. (In Cheng's research, the mean total monthly salary for the 13 respondents was $7,312 with a range of $1,300 to $17,500). I will return to this issue shortly.

The new mode of recruiting and the lure of very "big money" reflect a very different set of conditions compared to the first stage. Between 1970 and 1995, South Korea underwent dramatic social, political, and economic transformation: by the 1990s, Korea had become a relatively rich country and opportunities, both in employment and education, especially for women, had greatly expanded – although, as I discuss below, gender-based discrimination is still very evident in Korea. Moreover, the ability to travel across borders (whether for tourism or immigration) had become far easier, even routine, particularly after 1987 when the military authoritarian regime was replaced by a democratic one. These changes, in turn, have led to a dramatic increase in the size and scope of the Korean immigrant population in the United States: in 1970, there were only about 70,000 Korean immigrants in the US, but by 1990 this figure had increased more than 10-fold to 799,000. By 2010, the population grew by another 600,000 to just over 1.4 million, or 0.5 percent of the total US population (KAC-CIC n.d.).

The growth of the Korean population in the United States – along with the concomitant development of Korean-based commercial and business

centers, such as Koreatown in Los Angeles – has meant many things, but for the prostitution industry in particular, it has meant constant and growing demand from *Korean men* in the United States for Korean women. My survey results bear this out: while clients of massage parlors tend to be overwhelming non-Korean, clients for outcall services, room salons, and hostess bars – a large part of the prostitution industry – are often 90 to 100 percent Korean. While this observation is not necessarily surprising, it makes it clear that demand for Korean women is not driven by white (Black or Latino) men in US "thirsting for an exotic Asian women," but also by Korean men, especially first generation immigrants or non-immigrant businessmen. Indeed, my research indicates that the most important source of demand, at least since the late 1990s, is the Korean/Korean-American community in the United States. Thus, just as military "camp towns" were transplanted and reproduced in the United States, so too has the prostitution enterprise structure prevalent in South Korea been transplanted and reproduced. This is clearly evident in the major metropolitan areas such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, but it can also be observed in other areas throughout the country.

In any discussion of the transnational sex trade between South Korea and the United States, in short, it is crucial to recognize that it has a distinctly *ethnic basis*. There are, to repeat, two distinct elements of this ethnic basis. The first, which we just highlighted, is the demand from Korean male "johns" (in the United States) for Korean women. The second – and closely related – element is demand by co-ethnics who operate prostitution smuggling and trafficking rings. In the cases I studied, as well as the dozens of other cases I learned of through news reports, government documents, and other secondary sources, Korean nationals or Korean-Americans were generally the perpetrators: the owners and operators of brothels, the traffickers and smugglers, and the loan sharks. This is not unusual. In fact, a very common characteristic of transnational prostitution rings is the involvement of co-ethnics or co-nationals: Russian women tend to be trafficked or smuggled by Russian individuals and criminal groups, Chinese women by Chinese, Mexican women by Mexicans, and so on (Human Rights Center 2005). The upshot is fairly clear: any explanation of the trafficking and smuggling of Korean women into the US sex industry, must take into account the ethnically based "roots" of demand. Demand, however, is only one element of the global sex trade between the US and South Korea. It is equally important to examine so-called pull and push factors.

A Major Pull Factor: Money

I have already discussed a major, if not *the* major, pull factor, namely, the lure of "big money." Indeed, one of the most surprising findings of the

surveys was the capacity of some women to earn large sums despite their vulnerability as undocumented aliens working illegally (of the 27 respondents in the US, 12 were illegally smuggled into the United States, 12 entered on a short-term tourist visa and subsequently "overstayed," one was a student, and one had a valid immigration visa). Of course, as I noted earlier, this was not true for everyone: a number of women received little or no pay at all. In the most extreme case, the respondent never received a single payment over a five-year period and was literally sold from one brothel to another. Even more, according to interview subjects, it was possible for women earning huge amounts to work side-by-side with women earning very little or nothing. Those owing large debts, in particular, would not be paid directly until the debt was paid in full. The result is an uncertain situation wherein large earnings are clearly possible, but also quite possible is the chance of severe (sexual) exploitation and human trafficking.

In spite of this uncertainty, the opportunity to earn large sums of money by coming to the US was a major and generally *the* primary motivation for nearly all of the respondents to the survey. It also bears repeating that, for all the respondents (27 of 27), the decision to leave Korea was taken on their "own initiative." And, while there was clearly deception (sometimes quite severe) involved in some cases, it is also fairly clear that the original decisions did not involve overt coercion, but were generally *expressions of agency* – i.e., a purposeful decision to maximize earnings – on the part of individual women. Admittedly, to argue that money is a major pull factor is banal. But, this is only part of the story: decisions to leave Korea involve (much) more than just the prospect of earning large amounts of money. For almost all the women interviewed there were clearly larger social and institutional forces that shaped their choices – forces that "pushed" them toward prostitution in general and toward cross-border prostitution more specifically.

Push Factors: Insecurity and Gender Inequality in South Korean Society

From my research, it is clear that is it *not* abject poverty that pushes Korean women into the sex trade (domestic or transnational). In the cases examined, for example, none of the women were suffering from severe poverty in South Korea. Most had jobs and earned small, but livable wages. In addition, most were relatively well educated before they made the decision to leave Korea. Specifically, of the women in the US-based surveys for which there are data, 21 (of 26) were employed before leaving South Korea (two of these were sex workers), 15 (out of 24) had attended college or university and seven of the remaining nine women had attended high school. This small number of cases is supported by other, more extensive research. In a much broader survey of women working in the sex industry in Korea, for

example, researchers at Namseoul University (2008) found that the majority of South Korean women in the domestic sex industry (N=1,655) were from "middle class" families (54 percent), 16 percent from "wealthy" families, and 30 percent from "poor" families. Moreover, only 10 percent of the women in this survey indicated that their primary reason for engaging in prostitution was because they could not find another job. Despite these numbers, economic factors were clearly important. The same survey, in fact, listed "paying off debt" (28 percent) as the most common reason behind a woman's decision to engage in prostitution, with "earning money" (27 percent) following very close behind (these two factors are likely related).

In my US-based research, "paying off debt" did not *appear* to be a significant factor – only a small number of respondents explicitly indicated that debt was *the* primary factor in their decision to migrate to the United States – but the majority of respondents (54 percent) did, in fact, have an outstanding debt in Korea, and in four cases that debt was over $40,000. The average debt for 26 respondents was a little over $10,000 (the equivalent of one-third South Korea's per capita income in 2013, but more than 100 percent of per capita income in 2000). Thus, while debt by itself cannot be identified as the primary "push" factor, it likely is a relevant factor. My survey, unfortunately, did not ask respondents to identify other important factors behind their decision to migrate to the United States. But it is reasonable to assume – on the basis of the entire interview conducted with each respondent – that the immediate or proximate cause in almost all cases was rooted in economic and personal *insecurity*. As with our focus on money as a pull factor, there is nothing surprising about this claim. It is little more than common sense. However, I also argue that the "push" of economic factors must be understood within the wider institutional, socio-cultural, and political context of South Korea. And, in this regard, there are important elements of the Korea's larger context that not only exacerbate economic and personal insecurity, but that also makes individuals vulnerable to severe situations of exploitation, sexual or otherwise.

One of the more important elements of this context is the largely unregulated nature of the "private finance" sector in Korea, which itself is a reflection of increasing wealth of the country. In 1997, the private finance sector had fewer than 3,000 companies. Ten years later, after a period of almost unfettered growth, it had increased to 17,000 registered companies and more than twice as many rogue or unregistered companies, for a total of 52,000 to 62,000. According to one Korean source, "private financing" in Korea reached 180 billion *won* (about $175.5 million) in outstanding loans in 2007. Even more, an estimated 5 million Koreans, men and women (fully 10 percent of the entire population), had lost their ability to pay back their private loans. This is not at all surprising given usurious interest rates

– upwards of 200 percent per annum (in Korea, the legal maximum is 66 percent) – and lending strategies designed to trap borrowers into a vicious debt cycle. Within Korea, the destructive effects of the private loan industry are well recognized, and often lead to suicide (see, for example, Oliver and Song 2011). Yet, to date, little has been done to rein the industry in, and equally important, to provide protection to individuals against loan sharks and loan collectors who use a range of unprincipled, often violent, tactics (including rape, kidnapping, and murder) to collect their outstanding loans. The lack of an institutional and legal framework that provides effective personal bankruptcy protection to individuals and that prevents or at least mitigates strong-arm collection practices by loan sharks, quite clearly, exacerbates economic and personal insecurity among Koreans. Indeed, it is more accurate to identify the lack or weakness of such a basic protective framework – and not personal debt per se (still less poverty) – as an important factor that increases individual vulnerability and susceptibility to exploitation.[4]

It is also fairly clear that loan sharks intentionally use debt as an instrument to supply trafficking and prostitution networks both within Korea and abroad with women. This is an effective tactic precisely because, in South Korea, women generally have few other employment choices that pay relatively high wages. In the Namseol University report mentioned above, it is telling that the average monthly income of Korean women in the domestic sex industry is substantially higher than the average household income per month. According the Namseol University survey, in 2007, the average income for women under 24 years old in the domestic sex industry was $3,310 compared to $1,237 for the average household income (this was significantly higher than the average monthly wage for graduates of 4-year universities). For 25–29 years old, the respective figures were $3,108 and $1,760, and for 30–34 years old, $2,841 and $2,246. These figures are even more telling given the large wage gap between men and women in Korea: in 2006, women's wages were about 66.5 percent of men's wages (KILF 2007). While there has been a marginal improvement over the years – in 1999, the figure was 63.8 percent – the basic point is clear: gender discrimination in the domestic employment structure has been and remains very strong in Korea.

From this perspective, the choices of Korean women who turn to prostitution, whether domestically or across borders, are shaped, in part, by a "gendered division of labor" that provides (to some extent) the highest economic rewards to sex work – even for women with a college education. To put it simply, women who turn to prostitution are choosing one of the few types of work that allows them to earn and accumulate surplus capital[5] – an amount of money well beyond their daily living expenses. In my survey,

most of the women earned enough to pay off their smuggling and related debts in three to six months, and some were able to send money back to Korea. To be sure, many women who choose prostitution are severely exploited and subject to physical and psychological abuse; they are often trapped into position of forced servitude. Obviously, few individuals would want to be in this type of situation. Yet, this only underscores the limited nature of the choices available in Korean society to those who find themselves in serious financial difficulty. This is perhaps one reason why many women who turn to prostitution in Korea are older: in the Namseol survey, almost one-third of the respondents (32 percent) indicated that they were older than 35 when they first entered the sex industry as prostitutes – 27.6 percent were between 30 and 34 years old, 24 percent between 25 and 29 and 20 percent were 24 or younger. In our US-based surveys (n=27), the mean age was 32.4 years old when the women first arrived in the US.

At the same time, it is significant that all of the women interviewed in for my research expressed a clear desire to find alternative employment or forge a different life in the United States. When asked the question, "What kind of work would you most want to do?" 25 of 26 respondents indicated a preference to leave prostitution or sex work. Most of the women (77 percent) also planned to stay in the United States for "more than five year or permanently." These responses tell us that, largely free of the constraints they faced in Korea, the women could at least envision a viable life outside the sex industry. This point, though, brings us back to wider institutional, socio-cultural, and political context of South Korea. I have already identified a couple of important aspects of this wider context: an exploitative and pervasive informal private lending industry and a gendered division of labor that limits economic opportunities for women. A third (but much more recent) element stems from specific policy decisions, one of the most salient of which is the 2004 "Act on the Punishment of Intermediating in the Sex Trade."

In Korea, there has been tremendous debate about the efficacy of the 2004 anti-prostitution legislation. Some suggest that the law – which was vigorously enforced in the first few years after its passage[6] – is a classic case of the push-down, pop-up effect, both domestically and transnationally. Domestically, for example, there is clear evidence that the anti-prostitution law has not "saved" women formerly working as prostitutes, especially in the red-light districts. Instead, according to numerous news reports, there has been a large-scale movement of the once-openly operated sex industry into underground or clandestine venues, including massage parlors, bars, hotels, and private homes (Kim 2006). Many Korean sex workers have also decided to move overseas, including to the United States. Although there are no hard-and-fast numbers, an investigation by South Korea's ruling Uri

Party in 2006 led one lawmaker to make the following statement: "I have been shocked by the fact there is an increasing number of young Korean women … going to the United States to earn money through prostitution after the anti-prostitution law went into effect" (cited in Park 2007). This movement, it is important to add, has become even easier due to another policy change (albeit not one that "pushed" women into the sex trade): the visa waiver program between South Korea and the United States, which went into effect in 2008.

Earlier visa waiver programs with Canada and Mexico also played an important – and perhaps key – role in facilitating the trans-Pacific movement of Korean women to the United States. The visa waiver program with Canada (which went into effect in 1994), for example, seemingly led to a major increase in smuggling operations between the US and Canada, as South Korean citizens (both men and women) flew into Canada, quickly passed through Customs and Immigration, and then illegally crossed into the United States – with the help of a smuggling network. At one point, in fact, the level of smuggling was so high that one area near the border (a stretch of farmland at the foot of the Sumas Mountain, south of Chilliwack, B.C.) was dubbed "Little Korea" (Wood 1999). It is worth noting that the implementation of the Korea-Canada visa waiver program corresponded almost exactly with the expiration of previously dominant mode of entry, sham marriages. In this view, therefore, it would not be surprising if the 2008 visa waiver agreement between South Korea and the US promotes a smoother flow of Korean women into the US commercial sex industry.

In sum, even this brief account makes clear that the forces driving the cross-border – and the domestic – sex trade between Korea and the United States are contingent and context-dependent. It is equally clear that the women, in making the decision to come to the United States, were exercising agency – even if some were unable to control important aspects of their lives after they arrived in the United States (a point that we will discuss in the following section). The generally high educational level of the women, their maturity (in terms of age), and their purposeful decisions to come to the United States to find work – under risky conditions for those that were smuggled into the country – all underscore the importance of understanding the myriad of individual-level factors that go into decisions to migrate. Certainly, one of these individual-level factors was the "pull" of the very high earnings that are possible in the US, which itself is the product of consistently high demand. Yet, all of this must also be seen within the context of Korean society and the socio-cultural, economic, political and institutional forces that continue to "push" women into the global sex trade.

4. Sex Work or "Sexual Slavery"?

The forces that pull and push Korean women into the global sex trade raise an important question: are the women "victims" of sexual exploitation, or are they self-empowering "sex workers"? In principle, the distinction should be cut-and-dry, particularly in the United States, which (based on the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act[7]) defines severe trafficking in persons as "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age"; or "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (VTVPA 2000). Applying this definition, there was a plurality of clear-cut human trafficking cases (6 of 14) among the Los Angeles cases, but this was a partly product of (largely unavoidable) selection bias as four interviews were arranged through service providers.

In five of the remaining eight cases,[8] the situation was ambiguous: in each of these five cases there were seemingly clear elements of human trafficking and sexual exploitation, but also countervailing elements that would likely result in the women being treated as ordinary criminals (i.e. prostitutes). More specifically, it is clear that some of the women were (1) recruited through deceptive or fraudulent means, and (2) were subject to coercion in that, those with an outstanding debt or a "labor contract," were not allowed to leave before the debt was paid or the contract agreement was fulfilled.[9] At the same time, all five of these women not only received (promised) payments, but eventually were able to pay off their debt or complete their contract agreements – a task that allowed them to work with a relatively high degree of autonomy. Recall, too, that all the women interviewed in my research came to the United States voluntarily, and most knowingly entered the United States illegally. These cases, in short, tell us that the distinction between sex work and "sex trafficking" can be, and often is, quite fluid. This also tells us, however, that the distinction between "trafficking victim" and "criminal" is equally fluid and unavoidably ambiguous, which makes an already complicated situation more complex – and dangerous.

For the women, in particular, the blurry line between "victim" and "criminal" means greater vulnerability: as potential criminals (and as undocumented aliens), they feel they cannot approach the police or other authorities, and (and as the responses to our surveys indicated) most are equally distrustful or unaware of service providers or others in the community who might be able to provide assistance. This increased vulnerability,

in turn, strengthened the possibility of sexual exploitation. In the Los Angeles-based surveys, for example, six of eleven women indicated that they were forced to have sex with customers, that is, they were forced into prostitution. Yet, only one of these six voluntarily sought assistance from the police or made any other effort to escape from their situation. Instead, most felt that they had no option but to continue working as "prostitutes." From my research, moreover, it was fairly evident that operators of prostitution-based enterprises were not only well aware of the vulnerability faced by the Korean women they used, but that they also fully exploited it. On this point, consider the fact that, among all the surveys, news accounts (numbering in the hundreds), and court records I examined, there was not a single non-immigrant ethnic Korean woman mentioned. All were Korean nationals, and with the exception of one of the 27 US-based respondents, all came to the US as adults. This also meant that few of the women had even an elementary knowledge of the English language: in my survey, only one woman indicated that she was "fluent" in English, while of the remaining 26, two said they had "little to no" knowledge of English, 17 only "basic" knowledge, and seven an "elementary" knowledge: this general inability to communicate in English contributed to the isolation and vulnerability of the women.

5. Conclusion

The trafficking and smuggling process and the Korean-based prostitution industry in the United States is complex, widespread, and difficult to decipher fully. My research has done much more than touch the surface, but much more research is needed. The interviews and surveys upon which much of this article is based, for example, have provided important insights into the background, experiences, and motivations of Korean women who are trafficked or smuggled into the US sex industry, and the research has allowed us to learn about the conditions that create the basis for sexual exploitation. However, there were a number of important gaps in the survey instrument and weaknesses in the methodology. For these reasons, it is probably better to view this report as the product of a pilot study. As a pilot study, the results are still very important: it has established – small and imperfect as it is – the first empirical "data set" (I use the term loosely) on trafficked and smuggled women from Korea in the US sex industry. As I noted earlier, Korean women constitute a significant subpopulation, both in quantitative and theoretical terms. Quantitatively, there is evidence, albeit only anecdotal, that Korean women make up a disproportionate share of the global sex trade to the United States: in major cities, such as Los Angeles, upwards of 90 percent of all prostitution arrests involve Korean nationals.

Theoretically, the cross-border sex trade between Korea and the US undermines often taken-for-granted claims that abject poverty and global inequity, *in and of themselves*, are responsible for most, if not nearly all, of the trafficking and smuggling for sexual exploitation that takes place between the United States and other countries. This is not to say that "big" global structures and processes do not matter, but it is clear that they are not always determinative. For, just as individual women have agency – i.e., the capacity to control important aspects of their own lives despite significant constraints – so, too, do societies and communities of people. In this view, there is certainly nothing inevitable or inexorable about the smuggling and trafficking of Korean women to the United States; there is nothing fixed about sexual exploitation of Korean women or women of any country. I hope that this study provides at least some understanding of how to better address and, we hope, ultimately resolve this pressing issue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field research upon which this paper is based was made possible by the Bombit Women's Foundation (Seoul, South Korea), which provided a $250,000 (approx.) grant for a team of researchers in the United States, South Korea, Australia, and Japan. All researchers began with a common survey instrument, but each had some leeway to customize the survey/questionnaire based on local circumstances. As a result, there are minor variations in each of surveys. The United States had two independent teams of researchers, one led by the paper's author and the other by Sealing Cheng. The author's fieldwork centered on Los Angeles (Southern California region), where a total of 14 surveys (based primarily on face-to-face interviews of Korean women who had worked or were currently working in the US sex industry) were conducted. Dr. Cheng carried out her research on the East Coast and the Midwest (Chicago). Her team completed 13 surveys. The US-based surveys, then, totaled 27. This paper makes use of both surveys; however, for certain issues, the data are incompatible so only the Los Angeles-based surveys are used. Altogether, 59 surveys were completed and analyzed in a comprehensive report written by Seol and Han (2009). The author would also like to thank and acknowledge the work of Karam Yoo, who played an instrumental role in conducting interviews (in Korean), in translating and interpreting during interviews, and in carrying out additional research. While Ms. Yoo did not contribute directly to the writing of this article, without her assistance, this paper would not have been possible.

NOTES

1. The following sources use the same USAID quote in a largely unqualified manner: Farr (2005, pp. 137–138), Dyck (2009, n.p.), and Gonzales (2006, p. 4). Farr is a sociologist, Dyck is a Canadian senator, and Gonzalez is a member of Captive Daughters, an anti-trafficking NGO (non-governmental organization).

2. Cited in "Police Link Raids, Illegal Immigration; Seven Charged with Prostitution at Massage Parlors in Collinsville," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Missouri), June 6, 1997. We were not able to locate the original quote from *USA Today*.

3. In this case, the woman was in a long-term marriage with an American soldier, while he was stationed in Korea, and had two children from this marriage, both of whom entered the US with her (Cheng 2008).

4. For a fuller discussion of personal and household debt in South Korea, see Kim, Lee, Son, and Son (2014).

5. The Namseol University survey showed an average monthly surplus income (gross income minus spending) to be about $1,755.

6. In the first full year after passage of the 2004 law, 18,508 people were apprehended for violating the law; the following year (2006), the number increased in 39,237, but fell to 20,407 in 2007 ("Sex Business Goes Underground," *Korea Times*, 30 September 2008).

7. The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act is more commonly referred to as the Trafficking Victims Protection Act or TVPA.

8. In each of these cases, the women were "self-identified." That is, they either voluntarily responded to an advertisement for "research subjects" that we placed in a local Korean newspaper, or contacted us through the "snowball" method, whereby we asked participants in the study to refer us to their friends or coworkers.

9. In the three remaining cases, there was no evidence of deceptive recruitment or any form of "debt bondage." The women had a significant degree of personal autonomy during their entire period of stay in the United States.

REFERENCES

Andrees, Beate, and Mariska N.J. van der Linden (2005), "Designing Trafficking Research from a Labour Market Perspective: The ILO Experience," *International Migration* 42 (1/2): 55–73.

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2003), *Combating Trafficking of Women and Children in South Asia: Guide for Integrating Trafficking Concerns into ADB Operations*. Manila: Asian Development Bank. Available online <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/Combating_Trafficking/default.asp> (September 17, 2010).

Barner, John R., David Okech, and Megahan A. Kamp (2014), "Socio-Economic Inequality, Human Trafficking, and the Global Sex Trade," *Societies* 4(2): 148–160.

Biernacki, Patrick, and Dan Waldorf (1981), "Snowball Sampling," *Sociological Methods and Research* 10: 141–163.

Center for the Advancement of Human Rights (2003), *Florida Responds to Human Trafficking*. Florida Department of Children and Families. Available online <http://www.humantrafficking.org/uploads/publications/florida_responds2human_trafficking_fsu.pdf> (September 24, 2010).

Cheng, Sealing (2008), "Mobility and Stigma: Migrant Korean Women Laboring in the Intimate Service Sector in the US." Unpublished report prepared for the Bombit Women's Foundation (Seoul, South Korea).

Choo, Kyungseok, Kyung-Shick Choi, and Yong-Eun Sung (2010/11), "The Police Crackdown in Red Light Districts in South Korea and the Crime Displacement Effect After the 2004 Act on Punishment of Intermediating in the Sex Trade," *British Journal of Community Justice* 8(3): 86–103.

Clawson, Heather J., Mary Layne, and Kevonne Small (2006), "Estimating Human Trafficking in the United States: Development of a Methodology." Final Report (unpublished), submitted to the US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (September). Available online <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/215475.pdf> (September 16, 2010).

Dyck, Lillian Eva (2009), "Second Reading of Bill C-268, An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (minimum sentence for offences involving trafficking of persons under the age of eighteen years)." *Liberal Senate Forum* (November 2). Available online <http://www.liberalsenate forum.ca/In-The-Senate/Statement/7204_Second-reading-of-Bill-C-268-An-Act-to-amend-the-Criminal-Code-minimum-sentence-for-offences-involving-trafficking-of-persons-under-the-age-of-eighteen-years> (September 17, 2010).

Farr, Kathryn (2005), *Sex Trafficking: The Global Market in Women and Children*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Foo, Lora Jo (2002), *Asian American Women: Issues, Concerns and Responsive Human and Civil Rights Advocacy*. New York: Ford Foundation.

Gonzales, Sarah (2006), "Poverty and Sex Trafficking: How Will Warren Buffett's $30.7 Billion Donation to The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Earmarked to Fight Poverty, Affect Global Sex Trafficking, the Cause of Which Is Rooted in Poverty?" Available online <http://www.captivedaughters.org/poverty_pgnum.pdf> (September 17, 2010).

Heckathorn, Douglas (1997), "Respondent-driven Sampling: A New Approach to the Study of Hidden Populations." *Social Problems* 44(2): 174–198.

Heyzer, Noleen (2002), "Combating Trafficking in Women and Children: A Gender and Human Rights Framework." Plenary Address for the *Human Rights Challenge of Globalization*, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 13–15. Available online <http://www.childtrafficking.org/pdf/user/unifem_gender_and_human_rights_framework.pdf>

Hoefer, Michael, Nancy Rytina, and Bryan Baker (2009), "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2009," Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, US Department of Homeland Security. Available online <http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ill_pe_2009.pdf> (September 16, 2010).

Hughes, Donna M., Katherine Y. Chon, and Derek P. Ellerman (2007), "Modern Day Comfort Women: The US Military, Transnational Crime, and the Trafficking of Women," *Violence against Women* 13(9): 901–922.

Human Rights Center (of the University of California, Berkeley) (2005), "Hidden Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States," *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 23: 47–108.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2014), "Report for Selected Countries and Subjects," *World Economic Outlook Database.* Available online at <http://www.imf.org/external/ pubs/ft/weo/2014/01/weodata/index.aspx>

Korea International Labor Foundation (2007, September), "Wage Gap Based on Sex and Education Narrowed but Widened on the Size of Enterprise," *Current Research and Statistics*. Available online <http://www.koilaf.org/KFeng/eng Statistics/bbs_read_dis.php?board_no=107&page=8&keyField=&keyWord=> (September 24, 2010).

Kempadoo, Kamala (2005), "From Moral Panic to Global Justice: Changing Perspectives on Trafficking," in Kamala Kempadoo (ed.), *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Kim, Jeong Hyun, Dongyeol Lee, Jong Chil Son, and Min Kyu Son (2014), "Household Indebtedness in Korea: Its Causes and Sustainability," *Japan and the World Economy* 29: 59–76.

Kim, Tong-hyung (2006), "Illegal Sex Trade Dying Hard," *Korea Times*, 18 September.

Korean American Coalition-Census Information Center (KAC-CIC) (n.d.), "Factsheet 1 2011." Available online <http://kacla.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/ CIC.520.pdf> (June 28, 2011).

Laczko, Frank, and Gergana Danailova-Trainor (2009), "Tracking in Persons and Human Development: Towards a More Integrated Policy Response," *Human Development Research Paper*, no. 51. Available online <http://hdr.undp.org/ en/reports/global/hdr2009/papers/ HDRP_2009_51.pdf> (September 17, 2010).

Moon, Katherine (1997), *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in US-Korea Relations.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Marshall, Phil, and Susu Thatun (2005), "Miles Away: The Trouble with Prevention in the Greater Mekong Sub-region," in Kamala Kempadoo (ed.), *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Meyer, Paul (2006), "Sex Slaves or Capitalists? Arrest of 42 S. Korean Women in Dallas Brothel Raids Stirs Debate on How Trafficking Laws Used," *Dallas Morning News*, May 8. Accessed via LexisNexis Academic (May 22, 2010).

Miller, John (2006), "Human Trafficking and Transnational Organized Crime," *Remarks to the Organization of American States Special Committee on Transnational Organized Crime*, February 15. Available online <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/rm/62072.htm> (September 16, 2010).

Nagle, Luz Estella (2008), "Selling Souls: The Effects of Globalization on Human Trafficking and Force Servitude," *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 26(1): 131–162. Available online <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id =1823718>

Namseoul University (2008), "Survey Analysis of Prostitution after the Enactment of the 2004 Act on the Punishment of Intermediating in the Sex Trade and

Associated Acts." Accessed from the National Assembly Library of Korea < http://www.nanet.go.kr/>
Oliver, Christian, and Jung-a Sung (2011), "South Korea: An Economy Divided," *Financial Times (FT.com)*, May 29. Available online at < http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/0e9c9e6a-8a1c-11e0-beff-00144feab49a.html#axzz35rr1B49z>
Park, Chung-a (2007), "More Koreans Engage in Sex Trade in US." *Korea Times* (21 March).
Peerapeng, Suk-Rutai, Passert Chaitip, Chukiat Chaiboonsri, Sandor Kovacs, and Peter Balogh (2012), "The Impact of Globalization on the Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region Countries," *Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce* 6(5): 123–130.
Poulin, Richard (2003), "Globalization and the Sex Trade: Trafficking and the Commodification of Women and Children," *Canadian Woman Studies* 22(3/4): 38–47.
Raymond, Janice G., and Donna M. Hughes (2001), *Sex Trafficking of Women in the United States: International and Domestic Trends* (March). Available online <http://action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/sex_traff_us.pdf> (September 15, 2010).
Sanghera, Jyoti (2005), "Unpacking the Trafficking Discourse," in Kamala Kempadoo (ed.), *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered: New Perspectives on Migration, Sex Work, and Human Rights*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 1–20.
Seol, Dong-Hoon, and Geon-Soo Han (2009), "Korean Migrant Women in Entertainment Business in the United States, Japan, and Australia," Unpublished report prepared for the Bombit Women's Foundation (Seoul, South Korea).
"Seoul Worries about Prostitutes' Exodus to the US" (2006), *Korea Joongang Daily* (June 26). Available online <http://joongangdaily.joins.com/article/view.asp?aid=2739989> (June 30, 2011).
Tyldum, Guri, and Anette Brunovskis (2005), "Describing the Unobserved: Methodological Challenges in Empirical Studies on Human Trafficking," *International Migration* 43(1/2): 17–34.
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2011), "Korea (Republic of): Country Profile of Human Development Indicators," *Human Development Report 2011*. Available online <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/KOR.html> (July 5, 2011).
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (n.d.), "Human Trafficking." Available online <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html?ref=menuside>
USAID, Office of Women in Development (1999), "Women as Chattel: The Emerging Global Market in Trafficking," *Gender Matters Quarterly* 1 (February). Available online <http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACL190.pdf> (September 17, 2010).
US Census Bureau (n.d.), "Profile of Selected Demographic and Social Characteristics: 2000 [Population Universe: People Born in Korea]." Available online <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/stp-159/STP-159-korea.pdf> (September 16, 2010).
US Department of State (Various Years), *Trafficking in Persons Reports.* Available online <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt> (September 22, 2010).

US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) (2007), "Human Trafficking Fact Sheet," November 16.
Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (2000), Pub. L. no. 106–386. Stat. 1464 (October 28). Available online at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/ 10492.pdf>
Wood, Chris (1999), "Patrolling 'Little Korea,'" *Maclean's* 112(47): 30.
Yoon, Richard (2006), "Secret Salons in LA are Like Poison," *Sunday Journal USA*, November 5.
Zhang, Sheldon, and Ko-lin Chin (2002), "The Characteristics of Chinese Human Smugglers – A Cross National Survey," *Final Report to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice* (October).

Timothy Lim is a professor of political science at California State University, Los Angeles. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Hawaii, Manoa, and his MA in international affairs from Columbia University. His past research centered on transnational worker migration to South Korea, but has more recently focused on the issue of multiculturalism in Asia. Dr. Lim is also keenly interested writing accessible books for undergraduate and graduate students. He has published three recent textbooks: *Doing Comparative Politics: An Introduction to Approaches and Issues* (Rienner 2010); *Politics in East Asia: Explaining Change and Continuity* (Rienner 2014); and *International Political Economy: An Introduction to Approaches, Regimes, and Issues* (an open source book published by the Saylor Foundation).

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 32–100, ISSN: 2164-0262

Genetic Factors, Cultural Predispositions, Happiness and Gender Equality

RONALD F. INGLEHART
rfi@umich.edu
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor;
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research,
Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg
SVETLANA BORINSKAYA
borinskaya@vigg.ru
Institute of General Genetics, Moscow
ANNA COTTER
agcotter@umich.edu
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
JAANUS HARRO
jaanus.harro@ut.ee
Department of Psychology,
University of Tartu,
Estonian Centre of Behavioral and Health Sciences
RONALD C. INGLEHART
ingleron@umich.edu
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor;
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research,
Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg
EDUARD PONARIN
eponarin@hse.spb.ru
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research,
Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg
CHRISTIAN WELZEL
cwelzel@gmail.com
University of Leuphana;
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research,
Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg

ABSTRACT. This paper examines correlations between the genetic characteristics of human populations and their aggregate levels of tolerance and happiness. A metadata analysis of genetic polymorphisms supports the interpretation that a major cause of the systematic clustering of genetic characteristics may be climatic con-

ditions linked with relatively high or low levels of parasite vulnerability. This led vulnerable populations to develop gene pools conducive to avoidance of strangers, while less-vulnerable populations developed gene pools linked with lower levels of avoidance. This, in turn, helped shape distinctive cultures and subsequent economic development. Survey evidence from 48 countries included in the World Values Survey suggests that a combination of cultural, economic and genetic factors has made some societies more tolerant of outsiders and more predisposed to accept gender equality than others. These relatively tolerant societies also tend to be happier, partly because tolerance creates a less stressful social environment. Though economic development tends to make all societies more tolerant and open to gender equality and even somewhat happier, these findings suggest that cross-national differences in how readily these changes are accepted, may reflect genetically-linked cultural differences.

Keywords: genetic influences; gender equality; homosexuality; tolerance; happiness; World Values Survey

1. Genetic Factors, Cultural Predispositions, Happiness and Gender Equality

Evidence that people's happiness levels are influenced by genetic factors has been growing ever since neuroscientists first discovered close linkages between happiness and dopamine and serotonin levels in the brain, and that genes seem to play a major role in regulating these levels.[1,2] An early study of over 3,000 identical and fraternal twins found that genetically identical twins reported much more similar levels of happiness even when they had different life experiences than fraternal twins.[3] If genetic factors are involved, this could help explain why given individuals tend to have relatively high or low levels of happiness. Though recent events can raise or lower these levels, in the long run, people tend to return to a baseline level of subjective well-being.[4]

Subsequent twin-based studies have found further evidence of genetic influences on happiness,[5] but twin studies do not identify which genes might be involved. Only recently has the linkage with happiness been traced to a specific gene, the serotonin transporter gene *5HTT*. Variation in the promoter region of this gene (5-HTTLPR) has been linked with personality and mental health and selective processing of positive and negative emotional stimuli.[6,7,8] And previous research suggests that the short allele is linked with depression and anxiety.[9,10,11,12] Analyzing data from 2,574 American students, De Neve found that individuals with the transcriptionally more efficient long allele of the 5-HTTLPR gene reported substantially higher levels of happiness, as measured by life satisfaction, than did individuals with the short allele.[13] Both alleles produce the same protein, but the long allele is associ-

ated with approximately three times higher basal activity than the short allele, resulting in increased gene expression and alteration of serotonin availability in the synaptic cleft for signaling. De Neve's analysis indicates that individuals with two long alleles of the 5-HTTLPR gene are about 17 percentage points likelier to report being very satisfied with their lives than those with two short alleles.

Previous studies of the linkages between genetic factors and happiness have been based on twin studies, but De Neve analyzes data from the ACT, a survey of individuals who provided DNA samples as well as questionnaire responses. This article examines data from another source: in recent years, research on the serotonin transporter gene has been carried out in many countries and the published reports provide evidence of the distribution of the respective alleles in many countries. In 48 of these countries, representative national samples of the publics were also interviewed in the World Values Survey, providing data on life satisfaction and other attitudes, together with information about each country's economic and social characteristics. Analysis of this cross-national database sheds new light on previous work, making it possible to examine the impact of societal characteristics such as the country's level of economic development or social tolerance. These factors are constants in studies carried out within any one country, making it impossible to examine their impact cannot be analyzed in single-country studies. But, as we will see, these factors vary a great deal cross-nationally and seem to have considerable impact.

Moreover, we also have data from published sources on the allele frequencies of Val158Met (rs4680) polymorphism in the catechol-O-methyltransferase (COMT) gene, and can examine its linkage with the happiness levels of the populations of 48 countries. This gene plays an important role in the inactivation of dopamine, which is linked with pro-social behavior such as empathy, cooperativeness and altruism.[14,15,16] The evidence examined here suggests that 158Met allele frequencies vary cross-nationally along with level of happiness. If differences in levels of happiness and subjective well-being are linked to genetic characteristics, then we might expect these differences to play a role in cross-national differences.

Evidence of national-level linkages does not refute findings from individual-level analysis. If two variables go together at the individual level, they usually go together at the level of large groups, but this is not necessarily true. National-level linkages can be considerably stronger or weaker than individual-levels linkages and under some circumstances they can even have opposite polarity. We repeat: national-level findings do not refute individual-level findings – but they can shed light on how individual-level genetic factors interact with societal factors, to shape a society's level of happiness. As we will see, societal-level phenomena seem to play at least

as important a role as genetic differences in shaping the happiness level of a given country's people. Moreover, the national-level linkage that we find between happiness and the Val158Met polymorphism in the COMT gene is strong enough to suggest that it merits further analysis at the individual level.

Our findings suggest that cross-national differences in happiness, tolerance of homosexuality and support for gender equality and may reflect cultural differences rooted in genetic factors. There is evidence that economic development brings tends to bring rising levels of happiness, particularly as a society rises from subsistence-level poverty to a modest level of economic security;[17] and higher levels of development tend to bring rising support for gender equality and tolerance of homosexuality.[18] Nevertheless, the speed with which given societies accept these changes may be influenced by genetically-linked cultural predispositions.

2. Findings

Twin studies have consistently found that individual differences in major personality dimensions are significantly influenced by genetic factors[19,20] but it is difficult to determine which genes are involved. Various studies have found evidence indicating that polymorphism in both the 5-HTT gene and the COMT gene are linked with differences in the Big Five Personality traits (Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism and Openness).[21,22,23,24,25,26,27]

Table 1 Correlations between national mean scores on personality variables, values and societal traits, and 5-HTTLPR and COMT 158Met allele frequencies

	Frequency of short allele of 5-HTTLPR polymorphism	**Frequency of 158Met allele of COMT gene**
Big 5: Extraversion	-.41* (32)	.38* (30)
Big 5: Agreeableness	-.61** (32)	.38* (30)
Big 5: Conscientiousness	-.55** (33)	.31 (30)
Big 5: Neuroticism	.28 (33)	-.28 (30)
Big 5: Openness	-.43* (33)	.43* (30)
Big 5: 1st principal component	-.72** (32)	.52* (30)

* significant at .05 level; ** significant at .01 level.
Number of countries is in parentheses.

Table 1 shows the correlations found between the national mean scores on the Big Five personality traits and the frequencies of the 5-HTTLPR S-allele and COMT 158Met allele in all countries for which data on both

variables are available. It also shows the linkages with the first principal component underlying the Big Five personality traits. The results support previous findings based on individual-level data, that these genes are linked with key personality traits. Both genetic polymorphisms show statistically significant linkages with several of the personality traits, and their linkages with the underlying personality dimension (on which Neuroticism shows negative loadings while the four other traits show strong positive loadings) are particularly strong, with the Val158Met polymorphism showing a .52 correlation, and the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism showing a -.72 correlation with this dimension.

Table 2 Correlations between national mean scores on personality variables values and societal traits, and Life Satisfaction

	Correlation with Life Satisfaction:
Big 5: Extraversion	.24 (51)
Big 5: Agreeableness	.01 (51)
Big 5: Conscientiousness	-.25 (51)
Big 5: Neuroticism	.14 (52)
Big 5: Openness	.18 (52)
Big 5: 1st principal component	.01 (50)
5-HTTLPR short allele frequency, %	.22 (48)
COMT 158Met allele frequency, %	.49*** (48)

* significant at .05 level; ** significant at .01 level; *** significant at .001 level
Number of countries is in parentheses.

To what extent are these personality traits linked with happiness? This analysis uses the respondent's reported satisfaction with life as a whole as an indicator of happiness or overall subjective well-being. This indicator has been validated extensively[28] and was also used by De Neve (2011) in analyzing the impact of the5-HTTLPR polymorphism on happiness. As Table 2 indicates, the Big Five personality traits are only weakly linked with life satisfaction, with none showing a statistically significant correlation. And surprisingly, the linkage of the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism with life satisfaction not only fails to reach statistical significance, but has the wrong sign. In previous individual-level research within single countries, the short allele of this gene was negatively linked with life satisfaction; but at the national level, it shows a weakly *positive* correlation – despite the fact that (as Table 1 demonstrates) it shows significant negative linkages with agree-ableness, extraversion, conscientiousness and openness, all of which would be expected to go with happiness. On the other hand, the COMT 158Met allele does show a statistically significant linkage with life satisfaction, and in the expected direction: this is logical since it is conducive to relatively

high levels of dopamine, which are linked with feelings of well-being. Moreover, in previous studies the 158Met allele has been linked with pro-social behavior, empathy and cooperativeness, which one would expect to be conducive to subjective well-being.

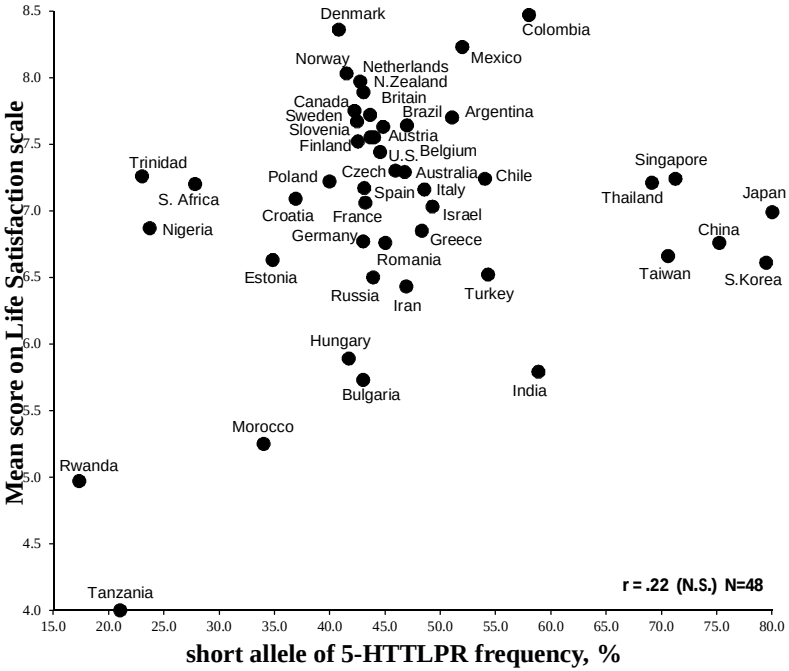


Figure 1 Life Satisfaction by 5-HTTLPR short allele frequency, %.
r = .22 (n.s.), N = 48.

Figure 1 shows the relationship between mean life satisfaction levels and the percentage of the population having the short allele of the serotonin transporter gene. The right-hand side of this figure shows a cluster of East Asian and Southeast Asian countries in which very high percentages of the population have the short allele – but these countries do not show the lowest happiness levels (they are about average). On the left-hand side of the figure, several African countries plus Trinidad (in which about half the population is of African origin) have the lowest percentages of the short allele; some of them show low levels of happiness but others show rather high levels. Though De Neve has presented convincing evidence that within a sample of U.S. students, those with the short allele tend to be significantly less satisfied with their lives than those with the long allele, countries in which a large share of the population has the short allele do *not* show

relatively low levels of happiness. Let us repeat, we do not view this as refuting De Neve's findings – but it does have significant implications about the interaction between societal-level and individual-level influences on happiness.

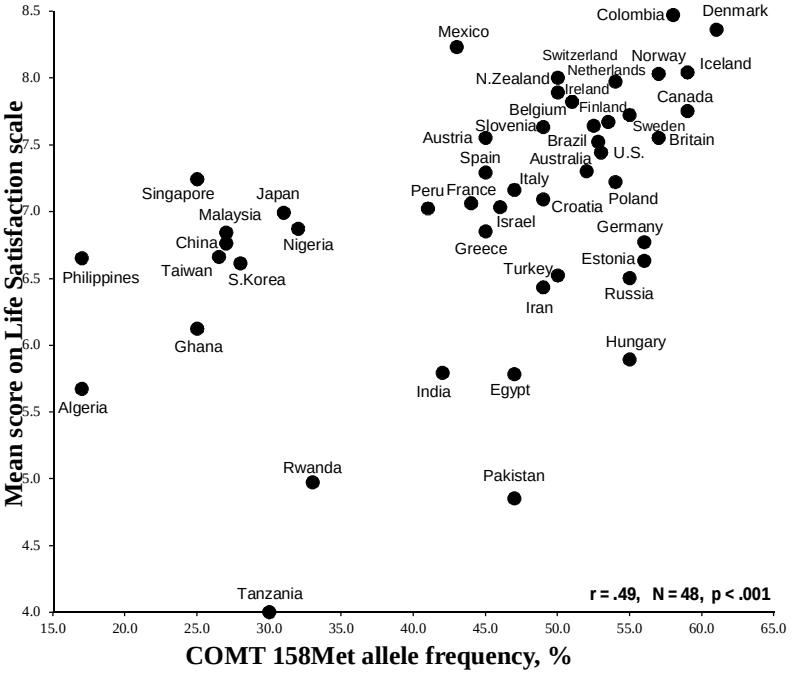


Figure 2 Life Satisfaction level by on COMT 158Met allele frequency
r = .49, p < .001 (N=48).

Figure 2 shows the relationship between happiness and the distribution of the 158Met allele in the COMT Val158Met polymorphism. It shows a clear tendency for the A allele to be linked with high levels of happiness, which is consistent with what physiological evidence would lead one to expect, since this allele is linked with higher dopamine levels in the brain. On the left side of this figure, we find a group of East Asian, Southeast Asian and African countries in which the populations tend to have low percentages of the A allele. This distribution of the gene does not seem to reflect the distance a given population has traveled in moving out of Africa, since it groups populations located far from Africa with populations still in Africa. The life satisfaction levels of this group range from very low to above the mean, but the overall tendency is for countries having a high percentage of the A allele to show the highest happiness levels. Here again, simple geo-

graphic determinism doesn't seem to work. Although many Northern European countries such as Denmark, Norway, Iceland and the Netherlands rank high on both variables, this is also true of such Latin American countries as Colombia, Mexico and Brazil. Since a substantial percentage of the population in the latter countries is of non-European descent, racial origin can not readily explain this pattern. We will propose an alternative explanation, which has a better fit with the empirical evidence.

Evidence from surveys carried out in scores of countries from 1981 to 2007 indicates that a sense of security is conducive to happiness and life satisfaction. Economic security is certainly important – one finds a .61 correlation between a country's per capita GDI and its mean life satisfaction score. But social tolerance is also important, so that rising levels of gender equality and tolerance of outgroups contributed to rising life satisfaction in most countries during 1981 to 2007.[29] Why is it that societies in which the 158Met allele of the COMT gene is widespread, are happier than others – while the populations of societies where the long allele of the 5-HTTLPR gene is widespread do not show relatively high happiness levels? This may reflect the fact that the COMT polymorphism has been found to be linked with pro-social behavior, while the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism has not.

Table 3 Correlations between gene allele distributions and indicators of tolerant, pro-social behavior

	5-HTTLPR short allele frequency, %	**COMT 158Met allele frequency, %**
Legislation concerning homosexuality scale: Same Sex Marriage is legal = 1 …death penalty for homosexuality = 8	**-.13** (48)	**-.60 ***** (48)
UN Gender Empowerment Measure (% of women in high-level positions in government, business and academic life)	**-.18** (44)	**.42 **** (43)
General tolerance factor: respondent supports gender equality in jobs, is relatively tolerant of homosexuality, accepts foreigners as neighbors (positive pole)	**-.03** (44)	**.54 ***** (43)
Materialist/Postmaterialist values index (Postmaterialist values are high)	**-.10** (48)	**.47 ***** (48)

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p <.001
Number of countries is in parentheses.

Table 3 provides societal-level evidence that supports previous findings from individual-level studies that the 158Met allele of the COMT gene is linked

with pro-social behavior. It shows the correlations between the two respective polymorphisms and two attitudinal measures, and two measures of the extent to which a society actually *is* tolerant. The first is an eight-point index of legislation concerning homosexuality, with scores ranging from "1" which indicates that (as of 2012) same-sex marriage was legal, moving through various stages of diminishing tolerance to a score of "8," indicating that homosexuality punishable by death. The A allele shows a -.60 correlation with this indicator, significant at the .001 level, while the short allele of 5-HTTLPR has no significant linkage. The second indicator is the UN Gender Empowerment Measure, which is based on the proportion of women holding positions of authority in government, business and academic life in a given country. Here again, the COMT Val158Met polymorphism shows a statistically significant relationship with an indicator of tolerant, pro-social behavior while the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism does not. Next, we examine a measure of tolerant attitudes based on representative national surveys carried out by the World Values Survey in scores of countries. The COMT Val158Met polymorphism shows a correlation that is significant in the expected direction at the .001 level while the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism has no significant linkage. Finally, we show the correlation with Materialist/ Postmaterialist values, a widely used measure of basic values that reflects the extent to which given respondents give top priority to economic and physical security, or to autonomy and self-expression. Postmaterialists tend to have grown up under relatively secure conditions and are significantly more tolerant of outgroups and more politically active than Materialists. Again, the COMTval158Met polymorphism shows a correlation that is statistically significant at the .001 level while the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism has no significant linkage.

We see no reason to doubt De Neve's finding that the long allele of the serotonin transporter is linked with relatively high levels of happiness at the individual level in the U.S. – but it seems to act only at the individual level. Moreover, De Neve's finding is based on data from the U.S. only. While the s-allele of the 5-HTTLPR is the risk allele for inferior mental health in most studies,[30] in some countries the l-allele has been reported to be the "risk allele."[31,32,33] These findings have led to the concept that *5-HTT* is a "plasticity gene"[34] that both alleles offer advantages but in different environments.[35] If these two different patterns existed in roughly equal numbers of countries, it would explain the neutral overall effect. The evidence examined here suggests that the A allele of COMTval15Met has cross-nationally consistent effects. Apparently, societies in which a large share of the population carries the A allele of COMTval158Met, have larger numbers of pro-social actors – and they consistently show significantly higher levels of social tolerance. As previous research indicates,[36] and as we will further

demonstrate below, social tolerance is conducive to happiness. It establishes a less stressful, more congenial environment. The populations of societies in which the 158Met allele of the COMT gene is widespread, not only have more tolerant attitudes – their societies themselves tend to be more tolerant, which is conducive to higher levels of life satisfaction. The long allele of 5-HTTLPR seems to raise the happiness levels of individuals within a given society but it does not seem conducive to the pro-social behavior that is linked with the COMT Val158Met polymorphism – and at the societal level, the positive effects of the serotonin transporter gene may be submerged by even stronger economic and social factors, such as democratic institutions or a high level of economic development, that are constants *within* any given society, and consequently cannot be analyzed in one-country studies.

3. The Impact of Societal-level Factors on Happiness

Massive societal-level factors can have a strong impact on virtually everyone within a given society, as recent Russian history illustrates. Most societies that experienced communist rule show relatively low levels of subjective well-being, even in comparison with societies at a lower economic level, such as India, Bangladesh, and Nigeria. Are these low levels of well-being a permanent baseline characteristic, possibly linked with genetic feature of their societies, or are they a relatively recent phenomenon linked with the collapse of communism? Time series data from Russia demonstrates that, under extreme conditions, life satisfaction levels can vary dramatically, as Figure 3 illustrates. Data from representative national samples of the Russian public are available from 1990 to 2011, and we can extend the time series even farther back to if we accept a 1982 survey in Tambov oblast as a proxy for Russia.*

The results indicate that, already in 1982, the subjective well-being of the Russian people was even lower than that of much poorer countries such as Nigeria, Bangladesh, Turkey, and India. Russia was experiencing rising alcoholism, absenteeism, and the collapse of the communist belief system – and the subjective well-being of its people was lower than that of countries with a fraction of their income. From this already-low level, Russian subjective well-being fell sharply, so that by 1990 the Russians manifested extreme malaise. Over half the population said they were dissatisfied with their lives as a whole. Within a year the communist system had collapsed, and the Soviet Union had broken up into successor states. Well-being continued to fall after the collapse, and in 1995 the overwhelming majority of the population said they were dissatisfied with their lives. Life satisfaction is normally very stable in advanced industrial societies. But it can and does

show sharp declines – and it seems significant that the dramatic decline of subjective well-being in Russia was followed by the collapse of the political, economic and social welfare systems, and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The sharp decline in subjective well-being experienced by the Russian people since 1982 is linked with traumatic historical events.

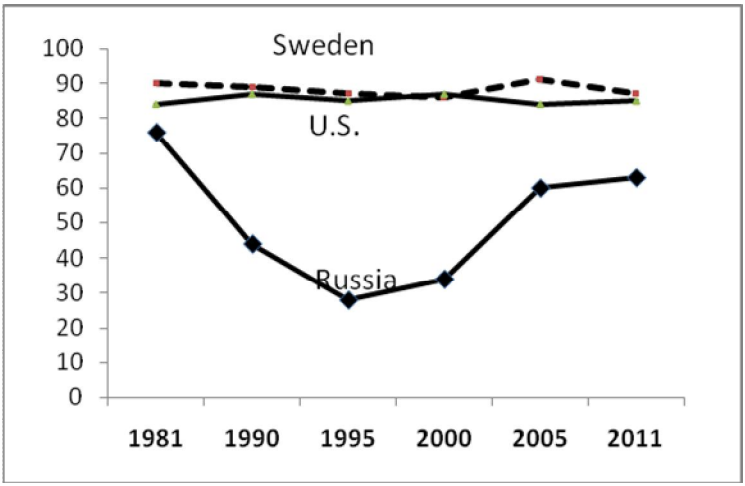


Figure 3 Life Satisfaction levels in Russia, United States and Sweden, 1981–2011 (percentage describing themselves as "satisfied" with their lives as a whole, i.e., choosing points 6–10 on 10-point scale on which 1 = completely dissatisfied and 10 = completely satisfied).

These findings in no way refute the claim that genetic factors play an important role in subjective well-being – there is compelling evidence that they do. But these findings indicate that we are not the slaves of our genes. Happiness levels vary a great deal and in part they vary with cultures and institutions that are constructed by human beings. Thus, the pursuit of happiness is not necessarily futile. Genetic factors seem to play an important role, but they do so in interaction with societal-level factors. To fully understand the implications of individual-level genetic findings, one must also take into account the impact of societal-level factors.

4. Multivariate Analysis

Life satisfaction levels vary greatly from one country to another. The percentage indicating they were "dissatisfied" with their lives as a whole (placing themselves on the lower half of a 10-point life satisfaction scale) ranges from 6 percent in The Netherlands, to 76 percent in Tanzania. Table 4

examines the impact of genetic variation on life satisfaction – together with the impact of economic development, social tolerance and other influences. As we have already seen, the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism has no significant impact on life satisfaction at the societal level. As Model 1 indicates, its linkage is weak and (if one expects the short allele to have a negative) even shows the wrong sign. But the 158Met allele of the COMT polymorphism shows a highly significant impact in the expected direction (Model 2). By itself, it explains 22 percent of the cross-national variation in life satisfaction. The two polymorphisms are negatively correlated, and when entered in the same regression equation this inflates the variance considerably, producing misleading results.

The distribution of both the short allele of 5-HTTPLR and the COMT-158Met allele predict that East Asian societies should be very low on life satisfaction, but in fact, the Far Eastern societies fall in the middle of the happiness range. Moreover, when both genes are included in the regression model, their effects are much stronger than in bivariate models. This curious effect is driven by the four East Asian societies in the sample (China, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea), which have extreme positions on the distribution of both genes and therefore have a strong leverage effect. But their leverage effects (very high on 5-HTTPLR and very low on COMT) sum close to zero in the multiple regression and the resulting fit is good, bringing their predicted life satisfaction to the middle of the range of life satisfaction.

Dropping the Far Eastern societies drastically changes the bivariate correlation between the short allele of 5-HTTPLR and the COMT 158Met allele: although the correlation is -.66 when they are included, the correlation becomes positive and mild when they are excluded. In the reduced subset of cases, the COMT gene retains its predictive value whereas the effect of the short allele on Life Satisfaction becomes even weaker.

It is possible that both genes have an impact on life satisfaction. African societies and East Asian societies are low on the COMT 158Met allele, but the Far Eastern societies, unlike the African ones, are also high on 5-HTTPLR. Caucasian societies are in the upper range on both genes. This roughly fits the empirical variation on life satisfaction. However, most of the cases for which we have data on both genes, come from societies with large proportions of Caucasian populations. Therefore we do not have enough variation to be certain of the effect of 5-HTTPLR, although we do have enough variation on COMT to proceed with the analysis. For this reason and because it has very little explanatory power, we exclude the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism from subsequent analyses.

Table 4 Predictors of Life Satisfaction: national-level regression analysis (dependent variable is nation's mean on 10-point life satisfaction scale, 1=completely dissatisfied… 10=completely satisfied)

Independent Variables:	**Mod.1**	**Mod. 2**	**Mod. 3**	**Mod. 4**	**Mod. 5**	**Mod. 6**	**Mod. 7**	**Mod. 8**	**Mod.9**	**Mod.10**
5-HTTLPR short allele frequency, %	**.22**	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	__
COMT 158Met allele frequency, %	__	**.49*** **	**.25***	**.24***	**.17**	**.03**	**.09**	**.23**	__	__
GDP/capita in 2000	__	__	**.53*** **	__	**.33***	**.12**	__	__	__	__
Materialist/ Postmaterialist values	__	__	__	**.54*** **	**.36** **	**.26***	**.26***	**.25***	**.28***	**.28***
Tolerance: Legislation concerning Homosexuals	__	__	__	__	__	**-.48** **	**-.37***	**-.37***	**-.46** **	**-.43** **
Composite Political Risk Score	__	__	__	__	__	__	**.27***	**.28***	**.24***	**.25***
Caucasian race as % of country's population	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	**-.18**	**-.07**	__
Historical parasite vulnerability (Fincher)	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	__	__
Constant	6.58	5.26	5.38	1.32	2.71	5.15	2.85	2.66	3.45	3.29
Adjusted R-squared	**.01**	**.22**	**.43**	**.44**	**.50**	**.58**	**.62**	**.63**	**.62**	**.63**
N =	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47

Cell entry is standardized regression coefficient. Signif. levels:***p< .001; ** p < .01; * p<.05

Source: genetic data compiled from articles in scientific journals; attitudinal variables from latest available survey from 1981-2011 World Values Surveys and European Value Study; economic data from World Bank, *World Development Indicators*; Legislation concerning homosexuals from LGBT Portal; Composite Political Risk scores from *International Country Risk Guide*.

As previous analyses have found, the transition from subsistence-level poverty to a fair degree of economic security brings a considerable increase in life satisfaction. When we add a society's per capita GDP to the regression, it and the COMT158Met polymorphism explain fully 43 percent of the cross-national variation in life satisfaction (Model 3). The prevalence of Postmaterialist values has fully as much explanatory power: together with the COMT158Met polymorphism, it explains 44 percent of the cross-national variance (Model 4). These three variables combined explain fully half of the variance (Model 5) and when we add the indicator of tolerance of homosexuals, Model 6 explains 58 percent of the cross-national variation in life satisfaction. As expected, the two indicators of tolerant, pro-social conditions have strong impacts on a society's happiness level; they overlap with the genetic factor and with GDP per capita to such an extent that the contributions of the latter two variables drop below significance in Model 6. Model 7 drops GDP per capita and adds a Composite Political Risk indicator that reflects to the degree to which given societies have stable, non-corrupt governments with low levels of internal and foreign conflict, bringing the explained cross-national happiness variance up to 63 per cent. In this model, the indicators of tolerance, Postmaterialist values and stable polities explain almost all of the variance – but these characteristics are most likely to be present in prosperous societies where the COMT 158Met allele is relatively widespread.

5. Geographic Clustering

Let's consider the impact of geographic clustering. If it is present, the correlations we find between COMT alleles and happiness (for example) might simply reflect population segmentation, in which given populations became geographically separated and then by genetic drift, came to differ on many genes – so that any correlation between a specific gene and a given attribute might not reflect a causal linkage but simply the fact that they happen to go together in different populations.

Commenting on Chiao and Blizinsky's[37] analysis of the cultural impact of cross-national variation in the serotonin transporter gene 5-HTTLPR, Eisenberg and Hayes[38] point out that their units of analysis may not be independent: the linkage between individualist-collectivist cultures and the 5-HTTLPR gene mainly reflects the contrast between a cluster of five East Asian societies that are high on both the short allele of this gene and on collectivist cultures; and a cluster of 22 countries that are low on both attributes – and are populated mainly by people of European/Caucasian descent. Within these two clusters, they find no significant linkage between the short allele of 5-HTTLPR and collectivist cultures. Similarly, De Neve

et al. (2012) note that the association between Life satisfaction and the 5-HTTLPR gene that they find, might be due to population stratification rather than reflecting a causal link between genes and happiness. To deal with this possibility, they control for the respondent's race in their analysis, finding that the linkage does not disappear.

A larger and more diverse set of 48 countries is examined here than the 29 countries analyzed by Chiao and Blizinski; and, as Figure 2 indicates, the relationship between happiness and the COMT 158Met allele does not break down into an East Asian vs. European cluster. Nevertheless it is evident that the populations of East Asian, Southeast Asian and African countries do have a significantly lower incidence of the Met allele than the populations of European, South Asian and Latin American countries. To partly control for the impact of population stratification, Models 8 and 9 introduce a variable that measures the percentage of each country's population that is of Caucasian descent (including those living outside Europe). By itself, this variable explains less than one percent of the cross-national variance in life satisfaction, and when added to the regression equation in Model 8, it raises the explained variance by only one point, from 62 percent to 63 percent, and is not statistically significant. Models 9 and 10 reduce the number of variables included by dropping first the COMT 158Met allele, and then the percentage of the population that is of Caucasian descent. Doing so does not reduce the amount of explained variance: our most parsimonious model, Model 10, still explains 63 percent of the cross-national variance with only three independent variables. The explanatory models presented here do not seem to reflect a European/non-European dichotomy.

As Model 10 indicates, we can explain a large proportion of the cross-national variation in happiness with three variables (1) Postmaterialist values, which reflect the extent to which the population was raised under relatively high levels of economic and physical security; (2) social tolerance – itself, an indicator of relatively secure social conditions; and (3) relatively secure political conditions. But the evidence also indicates that these factors are linked with prosperity and genetic factors, which by themselves explain 43 percent of the cross-national variance.

Though the COMT factor eventually drops out of the model, this is consistent with the interpretation that a high frequency of the relevant COMT 159Met allele helps make pro-social and tolerant attitudes and institutions more likely to emerge. Though the latter attributes are closely linked with the COMT Val158Met polymorphism, they have emerged only recently and cannot have caused the genetic phenomenon. But what did cause it?

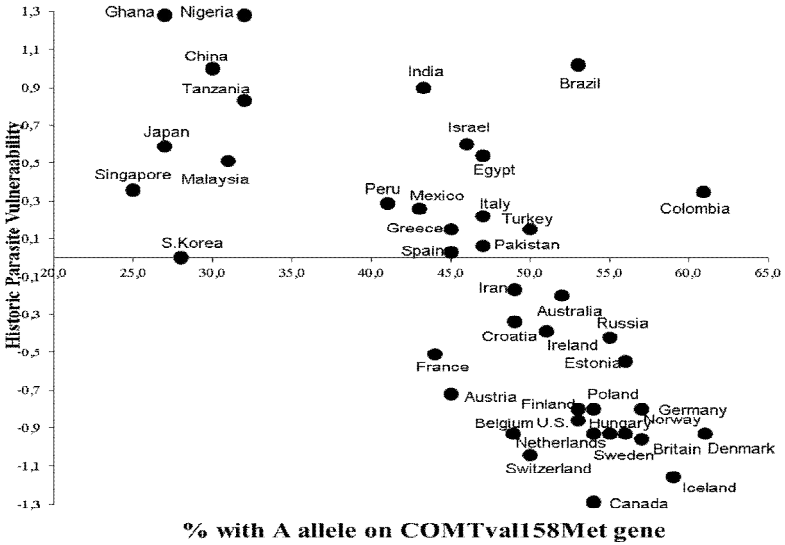


Figure 4 Frequency of COMT 158Met allele and historical parasite prevalence. r = -.71 p < .000 (N=45). Historic parasite prevalence from Fincher et al., 2008.

Neither a country's distance from Africa nor its racial composition seem to explain the prevalence of the COMT 158Met allele. But historic parasite prevalence may play an important role.[39] It has been argued convincingly that, in societies where the threat of infectious disease is strong, avoidance of strangers is conducive to survival, conferring an evolutionary advantage on any genes that happen to be linked with avoidance of strangers. This relatively inward-looking and xenophobic outlook would be conducive to survival in these circumstances, but it would come at a cost: it would be less conducive to the pro-social behavior that seems to be linked with higher levels of life satisfaction. Conversely, societies with lower levels of parasite prevalence would have higher levels of pro-social behavior, which is linked with cooperative activities and higher levels of happiness. Thus, it seems possible that genetic factors were involved in the selection of such behavior. As Figure 4 indicates, the populations of societies that historically had high prevalence of infectious disease tend to show lower levels of the 158Met allele than societies that had low parasite prevalence. The overall correlation is -.71, which suggests that as much as half of the cross-national variation in the prevalence of the 158Met allele might reflect the historic parasite load or related factors.

6. The Impact of Economic Development on Happiness

Though family income explains only about 3 percent of the variance in life satisfaction at the individual level, we find a .61 correlation between per capita GDP and mean life satisfaction scores at the national level, as Table 2 indicates. This suggests that economic development might explain as much as 37 percent of the cross-national variance. In other words, there is a huge difference between the apparent impact of economic factors on life satisfaction at the individual level and at the societal level. In part, this reflects the fact that there is a much wider range of variation between nations than within nations. For example, within the U.S., the richest state (Connecticut) has a per capita income twice as high as that of the poorest state (Mississippi). But on the cross-national scale, World Bank data indicates that the world's richest nation (Norway) has a per capita income (adjusted for purchasing power parity) that is 300 times as high as that of the poorest nation (Democratic Republic of the Congo). Moreover, the data cited by De Neve et al. concerning the modest impact of income on subjective well-being are from high-income countries. But the impact of income on life satisfaction follows a curve of diminishing returns: among the publics of low-income countries it has a considerably stronger impact than it does among the publics of high-income countries. This does not refute the finding that income has a relatively modest impact on happiness *within* the U.S. today – it does. But this finding has somewhat misleading implications for policy makers: the fact that economic development has a .61 national-level correlation with life satisfaction suggests that economic development can have a considerable impact on human happiness. If massive social changes raise or lower the happiness levels of almost everyone in a society, one would continue to observe relatively weak correlations between income and happiness within that society – although the society as a whole experienced traumatic changes in happiness levels. This is precisely what seems to have occurred in Russia during the past four decades.

Things do not necessarily work in the same way at the individual level and the societal level. The long allele of the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism seems significantly linked with happiness at the individual level, but the populations of countries in which this allele is widespread do not seem to be happier than the populations of countries in which it is rare. On the other hand, evidence from 48 countries indicates that populations in which the 158Met allele of the COMTval158Met polymorphism is relatively widespread are significantly happier than the populations of countries in which it is relatively rare. This suggests, but does not prove, that the COMTval-158Met polymorphism may complement the 5-HTTLPR polymorphism in helping to shape the life satisfaction levels of individuals; individual-level

analysis will be needed to demonstrate whether this is true. In any case, there is evidence that the COMT 158Met encourages pro-social behavior that is conducive to higher life satisfaction levels in given societies.

Let us perform a still more demanding test of geographic genetic clustering. Building on earlier exercises in genetic mapping,[40] we gathered data on 79 STR allele frequencies of five genetic markers used in forensic genetic testing to identify people's origins. We obtained data from the 39 countries shown in Figure 5 (countries such as the U.S., Australia or Argentina, whose population are mainly immigrants from other countries on this map, are not included). Figure 5 shows the genetic relationships between the populations of these countries, based on a principal components factor analysis of each country's mean score on the 79 STR alleles. The horizontal dimension shows each country's loading on the first principal component, which explains 42% of the cross-national variance. The vertical dimension reflects the second principal component, which explains 20% of the cross-national variance. We used the forensic STR system because these data are available for many populations, including some not studied for other genes.[41]

The MDS plot in Figure 5 shows five clear geographic clusters, grouping countries in sub-Saharan Africa, South America, South Asia and North Africa, East and Southeast Asia, and Europe. The distances on this Figure can be interpreted as roughly reflecting the geographic distance traveled in humanity's emigration out of Africa – though South America (geographically the most remote region) is relatively close to the African cluster and East Asia is closer than Europe.

But the horizontal dimension, based on the first principal component, could be interpreted as reflecting the degree of parasite prevalence, to which it is correlated at r = -.86. This dimension is also correlated rather strongly with a society's per capita GDP (r = .55). And it is even more strongly correlated with the distribution of the COMT polymorphism, at r = .76. Consequently, when both variables are entered in a multiple regression on Life Satisfaction, both effects become insignificant.

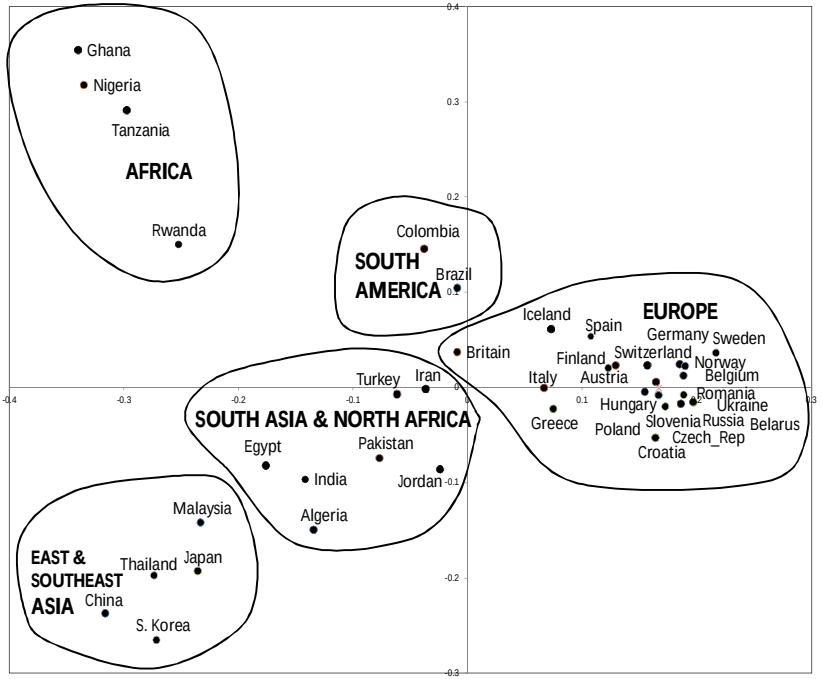


Figure 5 Multidimensional Scaling Plot Depicting Genetic Relationships between Populations of 39 Countries.

The horizontal dimension shows each country's loading on the first principal component from a factor analysis of 39 countries' mean scores on each of 79 STR alleles; the vertical dimension reflects the second principal component.

7. Conclusion

Though De Neve has presented convincing evidence that, within a sample of U.S. students, those with the short allele tend to be significantly less satisfied with their lives than those with the long allele, countries in which a large share of the population has the short allele do *not* show relatively low levels of happiness. On the other hand, the COMT 158Met allele does show a statistically significant linkage with life satisfaction, and in the expected direction. We do not view this as refuting De Neve's findings about individual-level linkages within the U.S., but it does have significant implications concerning the interaction between societal-level and individual-level influences on happiness.

If two variables go together at the individual level, they usually – but not necessarily – also go together at the level of large groups. In fact, national-level linkages can be stronger or weaker than individual-level linkages or even have opposite polarity. National-level findings do not refute individual-level findings, but they can help us understand how individual-level genetic factors interact with societal factors in shaping a society's level of happiness. As we have shown, societal-level phenomena seem to play at least as important a role as genetic differences in shaping a given country's mean happiness level.

The analysis in Figure 5 supports other findings indicating that genetic variation tends to be geographically clustered. This implies that any correlation between gene X and a given attribute might not reflect a causal linkage, but simply the fact that they happen to go together in different populations. The real cause might be another gene that is closely linked with gene X – or even some cultural or political or economic factor that is closely correlated with gene X.

This is certainly possible. We find strong correlations between the COMT allele and a whole cluster of genetic polymorphisms *and* certain cultural zones *and* high levels of economic development *and* high levels of social tolerance. At this point, we can not be certain which of many related genes is driving the process if any. It is conceivable that certain types of pre-modern societies might have been able to affect genetic pools by encouraging pro-social behavior and suppressing its opposite. But it seems unlikely that high levels of economic development or a specific culture is the root cause of the genetic variation – which almost certainly preceded the emergence of these relatively recent phenomena. And it is even more implausible that the strong correlations that we find between the COMT alleles and current societal features such as the UN Gender Empowerment Measure, and legislation concerning homosexuality simply reflect population segmentation and genetic drift. These are very recent developments in which the publics of 48 different countries independently began to accept gender equality and to tolerate homosexuality in varying degrees. The strong correlations that we find between this wide range of genetic, economic and social phenomena seem too strong to result from random drift: there is almost certainly an underlying causal process, though we have only begun to sort it out.

The fact that we find a correlation of -.60 between the 158Met allele and the degree to which homosexuality is repressed in given countries, suggests that there may be a causal link between the distribution of this allele and social tolerance. This supposition is supported by the fact that we also find highly significant correlations between this allele and other indicators of social tolerance. We know that economic security is conducive to tolerance, but these societies are not more tolerant simply because they

are relatively prosperous: the linkages persist when we control for per capita GDP. These linkages do not prove that the COMT polymorphism causes tolerance, but they provide a prima facie indication that this genetic factor may be involved – perhaps in connection with other genes that have not yet been identified. Logically, the next step is to seek individual-level evidence that the COMT polymorphism is linked with happiness.

We suggest that a major cause of the systematic clustering of genetic characteristics may be climatic conditions linked with relatively high or low levels of parasite prevalence, in accordance with results of Fumagalli et al., 2011.[42] This may lead certain populations to develop gene pools linked with different levels of avoidance of strangers, which helped shape different cultures, both of which eventually helped shape economic development. Still more recently, this combination of distinctive cultural, economic and genetic factors has led some societies to more readily adopt gender equality and high levels of social tolerance, than others. Though economic development tends to make all societies more tolerant and open to gender equality, these findings suggest that cross-national differences in how readily these changes are accepted may reflect genetically-linked cultural predispositions.

NOTE

*It was not possible to carry out the first wave of the Values Surveys in Russia, but our Soviet colleagues were able carry it out in Tambov oblast, a region they considered representative of Russia as a whole. In order to verify this assumption, we surveyed Tambov oblast again in 1995, along with a separate survey of the Russian republic. The results from Tambov and Russia in 1995 were similar: for example, on life satisfaction, Russia ranked 61st and Tambov 62nd among the 65 societies surveyed. Our Russian colleagues' belief that Tambov was reasonably representative of Russia as a whole seems justified.

REFERENCES

1. Hamer, D. H. (1996), "The Heritability of Happiness," *Nature Genetics* 14: 125–126.

2. Ebstein, R. P. et al. (1996), "Dopamine D4 Receptor (D4DR) Exon IV Polymorphism Associated with the Human personality Trait of Novelty Seeking," *Nature Genetics* 12: 78–80.

3. Lykken, D., & Tellegen A. (1996), "Happiness Is a Stochastic Phenomenon," *Psychol. Sci*. 7: 186–189.

4. Diener, E., & Lucas, R. (1999), "Personality and Subjective Well-being," in Kahneman, D., Diener, E. & Schwartz, N. (eds.), *Well-being: The Foundations of Hedonic Psychology*. New York: Sage.

5. Bartels, M., & Boomsma, D. I. (2009), "Born to Be Happy? The Etiology of Subjective Well-being," *Behav. Genet*. 39: 605–615.

6. Hariri, A.R., Mattay, V.S., Tessitoe, A., Kolachane, B. Fera, F., & Goldman, D. (2002), "Serotonin Transporter Gene Variation and the Response of the Human Amygdala," *Science* 297: 400–403.

7. Hariri, A.R., & Holmes, A. (2006), "Genetics of Emotional Regulation: The Role of the Serotonin Transporter in Neural Function," *Trends Cogn. Sci.* 10: 182–191.

8. Canli, T., & Lesch, K.P. (2007), "Long Story Short: The Serotonin Transporter in Emotion Regulation and Social Cognition," *Nat. Neurosci*. 10: 1103–1109.

9. Pezawas, L., Meyer-Lindenberg, A., Drabant, E. M. Verchinski, B. E., Munoz, K. E., Kolachana, B. S. et al. (2005), "5-HTTLPR Polymorphism Impacts Human Cingulate-amygdala Interactions: A Genetic Susceptibility Mechanism for Depression," *Nat. Neurosci*. 8: 828–834.

10. Munafo, M. R., Clark, T., & Flint, J. (2005), "Does Measurement Instrument Moderate the Association between the Serotonin Transporter Gene and Anxiety Related Personality Traits? A Meta-analysis," *Mol. Psychiatry* 10: 415–419.

11. Miller, R., Wankerl, M., Stalder, T., Kirschbaum, C., and Alexander, N. (2013), "The Serotonin Transporter Gene-linked Polymorphic Region (5-HTTLPR) and Cortisol Stress Reactivity: A Meta-analysis," *Mol. Psychiatry*. 18(9): 1018–1024.

12. Lesch, K. P., and Waider, J. (2012), "Serotonin in the Modulation of Neural Plasticity and Networks: Implications for Neurodevelopmental Disorders," *Neuron.* 76(1): 175–191.

13. De Neve, J.-E. (2011), "Functional Polymorphism (5-HTTLPR) in the Serotonin Transporter Gene Is Associated with Subjective Well-being: Evidence from a U.S. Nationally Representative Sample," *Jour. of Human Genet*. 56: 456–459.

14. Lachman, H. M., Papolos, D. F., Saito, T., Yu, Y. M., Szumlanski, C. L., and Weinshilboum, R. M. (1996), "Human catechol-O-methyltransferase pharmacogenetics: description of a functional polymorphism and its potential application to neuropsychiatric disorders," *Pharmacogenetics* 6: 243–250.

15. Reuter, M., Frenzel, C., Walter, N. T., Markett, S., and Montag, C. (2011), "Investigating the Genetic Basis of Altruism: The Role of the COMT Val158Met Polymorphism," *SCAN* 6: 662–668.

16. Papaleo, F., Burdick, M. C., Callicott, J. H., and Weinberger, D. R. (2014), "Epistatic Interaction between COMT and DTNBP1 Modulates Prefrontal Function in Mice and in Humans," *Mol. Psychiatry*. 19(3): 311–316.

17. Inglehart, R., Foa, R., Welzel, C., and Peterson, C. (2008), "Social Change, Freedom and Rising Happiness: A Global Perspective, 1981–2007," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* (July): 264–285.

18. Inglehart, R. (1997), *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

19. Loehlin J. C. (1992), *Genes and Environment in Personality Development*. London: Sage.

20. Jang, K. L., Livesley, W. J., & Vernon, P. A. (1996), "Heritability of the Big Five Personality Dimensions and Their Facets: A Twin Study," *J. Pers*. 64: 577–591.

21. Schinka, J. A., Busch, R.., & Robichaux-Keene, N. (2004), "A Meta-analysis of the Association between the Serotonin Transporter Gene Polymorphism (5-HTTLPR) and Trait Anxiety," *Molecular Psychiatry* 9: 197–202.

22. Gonda, X., Fountoulakis, N. F., Juhasz, G., Rihmer, Z., Lazary, J., Laszik, A., Akiskal, H. S., & Bagdy, G. (2009), "Association of the s Allele of the 5-HTTLPR with Neuroticism-related Traits and Temperaments in a Psychiatrically Healthy Population," *Eur. Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience* 259: 106–113.

23. Bertolino, A., Arciero, G., Rubino, V., Latorre, V., De Candia, M., Mazzola, V., Basi, G., Caforio, G., Hariri, A., Kolachana, B., Nardini, M., Weinberger, D. R., & Scarabino, T. (2005), "Variation of Human Amygdala Response during Threatening Stimuli as a Function of 5-HTTLPR Genotype and Personality Style," *Biological Psychiatry* 57: 1517–1525.

24. Greenberg, B., Li, Q., Lucas, F. R., Hu, S., Sirota, L.A., Benjamin, J., Lesch, K.-P., Hamer, D., Murphyu, D. L. (2000), "Association between the Serotonin Transporter Promoter Polymorphism and Personality Traits in a Primarily Female Population Sample," *Am. Jour. of Med. Genetics* 96: 202–216.

25. Stein, M. B., Fallin, M. D., Schrok, N. J., & Gelernter, J. (2005), "COMT Polymorphism and Anxiety-related Personality Traits," *Neuropsycho-pharmacology* 30: 2092–2102.

26. Blasi, G., Bianco, L. L., Taurisano, P., Gelao, B., Romano, R., Fazio, L., Papazacharrias, A, DiGiorgio, A., Caforio, G., Rampino, A., Masellis, R., Papp, A., Ursini, G., Sinibaldi, L. Popolizio, T., Sadee, W., & Bertolino, A. (2009), "Functional Variation of the Dopamine D2 Receptor Gene Is Associated with Emotional Control as well as Brain Activist and Connectivity during Emotion Processing in Humans," *Jour. of Neuroscience* 29: 14812–14819.

27. Harris, S. E., Wright, A. F., Hayward, C., Starr, J. M., Whalley, L. J., & Deary, I. J. (2005), "The Functional COMT Polymorphism, Val158Met, Is Associated with Logical Memory and the Personality Trait Intellect/Imagination in a Cohort of Healthy 79 Year Olds," *Neuroscience Letters* 385: 1–6.

28. For an extensive validation of this measure as an indicator of subjective well-being and happiness, see Diener, E., Inglehart, R., & Tay, L. (2013), "Theory and Validity of Life Satisfaction Scales," *Social Indicators Research* 112(3): 497–527.

29. Inglehart, R., Foa, R., Peterson, C., & Welzel, C. (2008), "Social Change, Freedom and Rising Happiness: A Global Perspective, 1981–2007," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 3: 264–285.

30. Karg, K., Burmeister, M., Shedden, K., Sen, S. (2011), "The Serotonin Transporter Promoter Variant (5-HTTLPR), Stress, and Depression Meta-analysis Revisited: Evidence of Genetic Moderation," *Arch Gen Psychiatry* 68(5): 444–454; and van IJzendoorn, M. H., Belsky, J., and Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2012), "Serotonin Transporter Genotype 5HTTLPR as a Marker of Differential Susceptibility? A Meta-analysis of Child and Adolescent Gene-by-environment Studies," *Transl Psychiatry* 2: e147.

31. Laucht, M., Treutlein, J., Schmid, B., Blomeyer, D., Becker, K., Buchmann, A. F., Schmidt, M. H., Esser, G., Jennen-Steinmetz, C., Rietschel, M., Zimmermann, U. S., and Banaschewski, T. (2009), "Impact of Psychosocial Adversity on Alcohol

Intake in Young Adults: Moderation by the LL Genotype of the Serotonin Transporter Polymorphism," *Biol Psychiatry* 66(2):102–9; cf. Olsson, C. A., Byrnes, G. B., Lotfi-Miri, M., Collins, V., Williamson, R., Patton, C., et al. (2005), "Association between 5-HTTLPR Genotypes and Persisting Patterns of Anxiety and Alcohol Use: Results from a 10-year Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Mental Health," *Mol Psychiatry* 10: 868–876.

32. Carli, V., Mandelli, L., Zaninotto, L., Roy, A., Recchia, L., Stoppia, L., Gatta, V., Sarchiapone, M., and Serretti, A. (2011), "A Protective Genetic Variant for Adverse Environments? The Role of Childhood Traumas and Serotonin Transporter Gene on Resilience and Depressive Severity in a High-risk Population," *Eur Psychiatry* 26(8): 471–478.

33. Glenn, A. L. (2011), "The Other Allele: Exploring the Long Allele of the Serotonin Transporter Gene as a Potential Risk Factor for Psychopathy: A Review of the Parallels in Findings," *Neurosci Biobehav Rev*. 35(3): 612–620.

34. Homberg, J. R., and Lesch, K.-P. (2011), "Looking on the Bright Side of Serotonin Transporter Gene Variation," *Biological Psychiatry* 69: 513–519.

35. Harro, J., and Kiive, E. (2011), "Droplets of Black Bile? Development of Vulnerability and Resilience to Depression in Young Age," *Psychoneuroendocrinology* 36: 380–392.

36. Inglehart, Foa et al., 2008.

37. Chiao, J. Y., and K. D. Blizinsky (2009), "Culture-gene Coevolution of Individualism-collectivism and the Serotonin Transporter Gene," *Proc. R. Soc. B* 277: 529–537.

38. Eisenberg, D.T. A., and M. G. Hayes (2010), "Testing the Null Hypothesis: Comments on 'Culture-gene Coevolution of Individualism-collectivism and the Serotonin Transporter Gene,'" *Proc. R. Soc. B* 278: 1–4.

39. Fincher, C., Thornhill, R., Murray, D., and Schaller, M. (2008) "Pathogen Prevalence Predicts Human Cross-cultural Variability in Individualism/collectivism," *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* 275(1640): 1279–1285. Cf. Thornhill, R., Fincher, C., and Aran, D. (2009), "Parasites, Democratization, and the Liberalization of Values across Contemporary Countries," *Biological Reviews* 84(1): 113–131.

40. Cavalli-Sforza, L., Luca, P., Menozzi, M., and Piazza, A. (1994), *The History and Geography of Human Genes*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

41. These data are based on the alleles of five genetic loci (FGA, vWA, Th01, D3, D8). The data used and the sources of the Forensic STR allele frequency data are shown in Table A2 of the Internet Appendix.

42. Fumagalli, M., Sironi, M., Pozzoli, U., Ferrer-Admetlla, A., Pattini, L., and Nielsen, R. (2011), "Signatures of Environmental Genetic Adaptation Pinpoint Pathogens as the Main Selective Pressure through Human Evolution," *PLoS Genet.* 7(11): e1002355.

Internet Appendix

Table A1 *5-HTTLPR* genotype and allele frequencies in studied countries

Study	Country	Pop	N	M/F	SS	%	SL	%	LL	%	2N	S	%	L	%	
Sookoian S et al. Obesity (Silver Spring). 2008; 16(2):488-91.	Argentina	GP	1329	1329/0	356	26.79%	651	48.98%	322	24.23%	2658	1363	51.28%	1295	48.72%	a
Sookoian S et al. Sleep. 2007; 30(8):1049-53.	Argentina	GP	683	683/0	184	26.94%	326	47.73%	173	25.33%	1366	694	50.81%	672	49.19%	a
TOTAL			2012	2012/0	540	26.84%	977	48.56%	495	24.60%	4024	2057	51.12%	1967	48.88%	
AVG						26.86%		48.36%		24.78%			51.04%		48.96%	
Jorm AF et al. Mol Psychiatry 1998; 3: 449-451.	Australia	GP	759	357/402	155	20.42%	350	46.11%	254	33.47%	1518	660	43.48%	858	56.52%	a, b
Naylor L et al. Mol Med. 1998; 4(10):671-4.	Australia	SCZ/GP	120	-	31	25.83%	59	49.17%	30	25.00%	240	121	50.42%	119	49.58%	a
Olsson CA et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2005; 10(9):868-76.	Australia	GP* (VAHCS)	752	309/443	150	19.95%	363	48.27%	239	31.78%	1504	663	44.08%	841	55.92%	a
Wilhelm K et al. Br J Psychiatry. 2006;188:210-5.	Australia	GP	127	42/85	27	21.26%	62	48.82%	38	29.92%	254	116	45.67%	138	54.33%	a
TOTAL			1758	-	363	20.65%	834	47.44%	561	31.91%	3516	1560	44.37%	1956	55.63%	
AVG						21.87%		48.09%		30.04%			45.91%		54.09%	
Thierry N et al. Eur Neuropsychopharmacol 2004; 14(1): 53-58.	Austria	SAD/GP	132	0/132	27	20.45%	64	48.48%	41	31.06%	264	118	44.70%	146	55.30%	a
Willeit M et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2003; 8(11):942-6.	Austria	SAD/GP	284	45/239	53	18.66%	136	47.89%	95	33.45%	568	242	42.61%	326	57.39%	a
TOTAL			416		80	19.23%	200	48.08%	136	32.69%	832	360	43.27%	472	56.73%	
AVG						19.56%		48.19%		32.26%			43.65%		56.35%	

Wichers et al. Am J Med Genett Part B. 2008, 147B: 120-123																
	Belgium	GP	394	0/394	82	20.81%	184	46.70%	128	32.49%	788	348	44.16%	440	55.84%	d
TOTAL			394	0/394	82	20.81%	184	46.70%	128	32.49%	788	348	44.16%	440	55.84%	
AVG			394		82	20.81%	184	46.70%	128	32.49%			44.16%		55.84%	
		GP														
Costa JE et al. J Oral Sci. 2008; 50(2):193-8.	Brazil	(Periodontis)	132	82/50	52	39.39%	54	40.91%	26	19.70%	264	158	59.85%	106	40.15%	
																a
Grevet EH et al. J Neural Transm. 2007; 114(12): 1631-6.		ADHD/G														
	Brazil		548	-	102	18.61%	303	55.29%	143	26.09%	1096	507	46.26%	589	53.74%	
		P														a
Marques FZ et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2006; 16(3):125-31																
	Brazil	Alc/GP	332	332/0	67	20.18%	174	52.41%	91	27.41%	664	308	46.39%	356	53.61%	
																a
Meira-Lima I et al. Genes Brain Behav. 2004; 3(2):75-9.																
	Brazil	OCD/GP	279	-	60	21.51%	138	49.46%	81	29.03%	558	258	46.24%	300	53.76%	
																a
Oliveira JR et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2000; 5(4):348-9.																
	Brazil	DT/BPD/	389	-	67	17.22%	175	44.99%	147	37.79%	778	309	39.72%	469	60.28%	
		MDD/GP														
																a
Wachleski C et al. Neurosci Lett. 2008; 431(2):173-8.																
	Brazil	PanD	67	14/53	14	20.90%	30	44.78%	23	34.33%	134	58	43.28%	76	56.72%	
																a
TOTAL			1747		362	20.72%	874	50.03%	511	29.25%	3494	1598	45.74%	1896	54.26%	
AVG						22.97%		47.97%		29.06%			46.96%		53.04%	
Mendlewicz J et al. Eur J Hum Genet. 2004 May 12 (5): 377-82, and Radka Kaneva, personal communication																
	Bulgaria	GP	457		77	16.85%	233	50.99%	147	32.17%	914	387	42.34%	527	57.66%	
TOTAL			457		77	16.85%	233	50.99%	147	32.17%	914	387	42.34%	527	57.66%	
AVG			457		77	16.85%	233	50.99%	147	32.17%	914	387	42.34%	527	57.66%	

Mileva-Seitz et al. Genes, Brains, and Behavior 2011, 10:325-333	Canada	GP	266	0/266	50	18.70%	147	55.40%	69	25.90%	532	247	46.43%	285	53.57%	
Ni et al. Journal of Psychiatric Research 2006, 40:448-453	Canada	GP	269		49	18.22%	129	47.96%	91	33.83%	538	227	42.19%	311	57.81%	
TOTAL			535		99	18.37%	276	51.59%	160	29.91%	1070	474	44.30%	596	55.70%	
AVG						18,46%		51,68%		29,87%			44,31%		55,69%	
Sanhueza et al. Rev Med Chile 2011, 139:1261-1268.	Chile	GP	91		29	31.90%	40	43.90%	22	24.20%	91	49	54.00%	42	46.00%	
TOTAL			91		29	31.90%	40	43.90%	22	24.20%	91	49	54.00%	42	46.00%	
AVG						31.90%		43.90%		24.20%			54.00%		46.00%	
Forero et al. Journal of Neuro Transmission 2006, 113:1253-1262	Colombia	GP	84		45	53.60%	25	29.80%	14	16.70%	168	115	68.50%	53	31.50%	
Ospina-Duque et al. Neuroscience Letters 2000, 292: 199-202	Colombia	GP	112		29	26.00%	61	54.00%	22	20.00%	224	119	53.00%	105	47.00%	
Perea et al. Journal of Affective Disorders 2012, 136: 767-774	Colombia	GP	302		89	29.50%	152	50.30%	61	20.20%	604	332	55.00%	272	45.00%	
TOTAL			498		163	32.73%	238	47.79%	97	19.48%	996	566	56.83%	430	43.17%	
AVG						36.37%		44.70%		18.97%			58.83%		41.17%	
Pivac et al. Neuroscience Letters 2009, 4: 45-48	Croatia	GP	520		67	12.88%	238	45.78%	215	41.35%	520	186	35.77%	334	64.23%	
Noskova et al. Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry.2008, 32: 1735-1739	Croatia	GP	665		95	14.30%	316	47.50%	254	38.20%	1330	505	38.00%	825	62.00%	
Hranilovic et al. Biol. Psychiatry 2003, 54: 884-889	Croatia	MDD	432		59	13.66%	212	49.07%	161	37.27%	864	330	38.19%	534	61.81%	
TOTAL			1617		221	13.67%	766	47.37%	630	38.96%	2714	1021	37.62%	1693	62.38%	
AVG						13.61%		47.45%		38.94%			37.32%		62.68%	

Martaskova et al. Folia Biologica 2009, 55:192-197																
	Czech Republic	GP	65	0/65	13	20.00%	30	46.10%	22	33.90%	130	56	43.10%	74	56.90%	
TOTAL			65		13	20.00%	30	46.10%	22	33.90%	130	56	43.10%	74	56.90%	
AVG						20.00%		46.10%		33.9*%			43.10%		56.90%	
Togsverd M et al.		GP*														
J Affect Disord. 2008;	Denmark	(PERF)	1369	0/1369	238	17.38%	641	46.82%	490	35.79%	2738	1117	40.80%	1621	59.20%	
106(1-2):169-72.																a
TOTAL			1369	0/1369	238	17.38%	641	46.82%	490	35.79%	2738	1117	40.80%	1621	59.20%	
AVG						17.38%		46.82%		35.79%			40.80%		59.20%	
Maron E et al. Int J																
Neuropsychopharmacol.	Estonia	PanD/GP	373	-	45	12.06%	173	46.38%	155	41.55%	746	263	35.25%	483	64.75%	
2005; 8(2):261-6.																a
		GP*														
Paaver M et al. Prog	Estonia	(EYHS/	435	-	55	12.64%	189	43.45%	191	43.91%	870	299	34.37%	571	65.63%	
Neuropsychopharmacol Biol		ECPBHS)														
Psychiatry. 2008; 32(5):1263-8.																b
TOTAL			808		100	12.38%	362	44.80%	346	42.82%	1616	562	34.78%	1054	65.22%	
AVG						12.35%		44.91%		42.73%			34.81%		65.19%	
		Alc														
Mazzanti CM et al. Arch	Finland	CO/GP	397	337/60	76	19.14%	196	49.37%	125	31.49%	794	348	43.83%	446	56.17%	
Gen Psychiatry 1998; 55:																a
936-940.																
		GP*		1704/												
Munafò MR et al. Am J																
Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr	Finland	(NFBC)	3872	2168	661	17.07%	1859	48.01%	1352	34.92%	7744	3181	41.08%	4563	58.92%	
Genet. 2009; 150B(2):271-81.																
																b
TOTAL			4269		737	17.26%	2055	48.14%	1477	34.60%	8538	3529	41.33%	5009	58.67%	
AVG						18.11%		48.69%		33.21%			42.46%		57.55%	

Anderson GM et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2002;7(8):831-6.	France	Aut	31	19/12	4	12.90%	16	51.61%	11	35.48%	62	24	38.71%	38	61.29%	
																a
Bellivier F et al. Am J Med Genet. 2001;105(8):758-60.	France	GP/NFT1	272	-	42	15.44%	138	50.74%	92	33.82%	544	222	40.81%	322	59.19%	
																a
Bellivier F et al. Neurosci Lett. 1998; 255(3): 143-6.		UPD/BP														
	France	D/ GP	348	-	66	18.97%	180	51.72%	102	29.31%	696	312	44.83%	384	55.17%	
																a
Chabane N et al. Neurosci Lett. 2004; 363(2): 154-6.	France	OCD/GP	277	169/108	46	16.61%	138	49.82%	93	33.57%	554	230	41.52%	324	58.48%	
																a
Courtet P et al. Biol Psychiatry. 2004;55(1):46-51.	France	SA	76	12/64	22	28.95%	39	51.32%	15	19.74%	152	83	54.61%	69	45.39%	
																a
Hammoumi S et al. Alcohol. 1999; 17(2)**:** 107-12.	France	Alc/GP	140	-	29	20.71%	57	40.71%	54	38.57%	280	115	41.07%	165	58.93%	
																a
Limosin F et al. J Psychiatr Res. 2005; 39(2): 179-82	France	Alc	100	48/52	12	12.00%	52	52.00%	36	36.00%	200	76	38.00%	124	62.00%	
																a
Power T et al. Neurobiol Aging. 2010;31(5):886-7.	France	GP	1421	-	309	21.75%	687	48.35%	425	29.91%	2842	1305	45.92%	1537	54.08%	
																a
TOTAL			2665		530	19.89%	1307	49.04%	828	31.07%	5330	2367	44.41%	2963	55.59%	
AVG						18.42%		49.53%		32.05%			43.18%		56.82%	

Hoefgen B et al. Biol Psychiatry. 2005; 57(3):247-51.	Germany	MDD/GP	1289	-	226	17.53%	628	48.72%	435	33.75%	2578	1080	41.89%	1498	58.11%	a
Jacob CP et al. Am J Psychiatry 2004; 161(3): 569-572.	Germany	PerD/GP	601	71/210	95	15.81%	302	50.25%	204	33.94%	1202	492	40.93%	710	59.07%	a
Koller G et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2008; 18(2):59-63	Germany	Alc	368	287/81	64	17.39%	195	52.99%	109	29.62%	736	323	43.89%	413	56.11%	a
Lang UE et al. Neuropsychobiology 2004; 49: 182-184.	Germany	GP	228	115/113	41	17.98%	102	44.74%	85	37.28%	456	184	40.35%	272	59.65%	a
Preuss UW et al. Biol Psychiatry. 2001; 50(8):636-9.	Germany	Alc/GP	280	187/93	43	15.36%	145	51.79%	92	32.86%	560	231	41.25%	329	58.75%	a
Preuss UW et al. Psychiatry Res. 2000; 96(1):51-61.	Germany	Alc	72	58/14	10	13.89%	42	58.33%	20	27.78%	144	62	43.06%	82	56.94%	a
Retz W et al. Neurosci Lett 2002; 319: 133-136.	Germany	GP	169	169/0	28	16.57%	94	55.62%	47	27.81%	338	150	44.38%	188	55.62%	a
Rujescu D et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2001; 11(3): 169-72	Germany	SA/GP	309	122/187	46	14.89%	148	47.90%	115	37.22%	618	240	38.83%	378	61.17%	a
Schmitz A et al. Pers Indiv Differ 2007; 42: 789-799.	Germany	GP	410	148/262	71	17.32%	196	47.80%	143	34.88%	820	338	41.22%	482	58.78%	a
Stamm TJ et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2008;18(2):92-7.	Germany	DIPt	50	21/29	9	18.00%	19	38.00%	22	44.00%	100	37	37.00%	63	63.00%	a
Strobel A et al. Z Different Diagnost Psychol 2000; 21: 194-199.	Germany	Paper copy not available	134	47/87	26	19.40%	69	51.49%	39	29.10%	268	121	45.15%	147	54.85%	d
Vormfelde SV et al. J Psychiatr Res 2006; 40(6): 568-576.	Germany	GP	195	97/98	69	35.38%	90	46.15%	36	18.46%	390	228	58.46%	162	41.54%	a

Stefanis et al. Genes, Brains, and Behavior 2011, 10: 536-541	Greece	GP	1594	1594/0	355	22.30%	764	47.90%	475	29.80%	3188	1474	46.24%	1714	53.76%	
TOTAL			1594	1594/0	355	22.30%	764	47.90%	475	29.80%	3188	1474	46.24%	1714	53.76%	
AVG			1594	1594/0	355	22.30%	764	47.90%	475	29.80%	3188	1474	46.24%	1714	53.76%	
Gonda X et al. J Affect Disord. 2009; 112 (1-3):19-29.	Hungary	GP	138	0/138	19	13.77%	69	50.00%	50	36.23%	276	107	38.77%	169	61.23%	a
Juhasz G et al. J Neurogenet. 2003; 17(2-3):231-40.	Hungary	GP (migraine)	227	0/227	46	20.26%	111	48.90%	70	30.84%	454	203	44.71%	251	55.29%	a
Szekely A et al. Am J Med Genet Part B 2004; 126B(1): 106-110.	Hungary	GP	151	68/89	29	19.21%	69	45.70%	53	35.10%	302	127	42.05%	175	57.95%	c
Szilagyi A et al. Headache. 2006 Mar;46(3):478-85.	Hungary	(migraine)	551	294/257	105	19.06%	245	44.46%	201	36.48%	1102	455	41.29%	647	58.71%	c
TOTAL			1067	362/827	199	18.65%	494	46.30%	374	35.05%	2134	892	41.80%	1242	58.20%	
AVG						18.07%		47.26%		34.66%			41.71%		58.29%	
Banerjee E et al. Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet. 2006; 141B(4):361-6.	India	ADHD/ Parents/ GP	332	-	119	35.84%	141	42.47%	72	21.69%	664	379	57.08%	285	42.92%	a
Guhathakurta S et al. Brain Res. 2006; 1092(1):28-35.	India	Aut/ Parents/ GP	355	-	147	41.41%	167	47.04%	41	11.55%	710	461	64.93%	249	35.07%	ab
Kumar HB et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2007;17(5):253-60. Erratum in: Psychiatr Genet. 2007;17(6):360.	India	PP/BPD/ GP	320	0/320	100	31.25%	149	46.56%	71	22.19%	640	349	54.53%	291	45.47%	a

TOTAL			1007		366	36.35%	457	45.38%	184	18.27%	2014	1189	59.04%	825	40.96%	
AVG						36.17%		45.36%		18.47%			58.85%		41.15%	
Safarinejad.																
Journal of Urology	Iran	GP	82	82/0	17	20.70%	30	36.90%	35	42.70%	113	53	46.90%	60	53.10%	
2009, 181: 2656-2661																
TOTAL			82		17	20.70%	30	36.90%	35	42.70%	113	53	46.90%	60	53.10%	
AVG						20.70%		36.90%		42.70%			46.90%		53.10%	
Arbelle S et al.																
Am J Psychiatry. 2003;	Israel	GP	98	-	18	18.37%	48	48.98%	32	32.65%	196	84	42.86%	112	57.14%	
160(4): 671-6.																a
Auerbach J et al.																
Mol Psychiatry. 1999;	Israel	GP	77	-	26	33.77%	29	37.66%	22	28.57%	154	81	52.60%	73	47.40%	
4(4):369-73.																a
Ebstein RP et al.																
Mol Psychiatry 1997;	Israel	GP	121	67/54	32	26.45%	66	54.55%	23	19.01%	242	130	53.72%	112	46.28%	
2: 224-226.																a
Kotler M et al.																
Mol Psychiatry. 1999;	Israel	Her/ GP	403	-	98	24.32%	198	49.13%	107	26.55%	806	394	48.88%	412	51.12%	
4(4): 313-4.																a
		ADHD/H														
Manor I et al.		RR														
Am J Med Genet. 2001;	Israel	Control/	1194	-	236	19.77%	645	54.02%	313	26.21%	2388	1117	46.78%	1271	53.22%	
105(1): 91-5.		GP														a
Michaelovsky E et al.																
Mol Psychiatry. 1999;	Israel	GP	454	-	117	25.77%	218	48.02%	119	26.21%	908	452	49.78%	456	50.22%	
4(1):97-9.																a
Osher Y et al. Mol																
Psychiatry 2000;	Israel	GP	148	51/97	39	26.35%	73	49.32%	36	24.32%	296	151	51.01%	145	48.99%	
5: 216-219.																a
		Aut/HRR														
Yirmiya N et al.																
Am J Med Genet. 2001;	Israel		66	-	15	22.73%	34	51.52%	17	25.76%	132	64	48.48%	68	51.52%	
105(4):381-6.		Control														a
TOTAL			2561		581	22.69%	1311	51.19%	669	26.12%	5122	2473	48.28%	2649	51.72%	
AVG						24.69%		49.15%		26.16%			49.26%		50.74%	

Borroni B et al. J Headache Pain. 2005; 6(4):182-4.		GP														
	Italy	(migraine)	249	51/198	53	21.29%	112	44.98%	84	33.73%	498	218	43.78%	280	56.22%	
																a
Monteleone P et al. Psychosom Med 2006; 68(1): 99-103.																
	Italy	BN/GP	219	0/219	63	28.77%	90	41.10%	66	30.14%	438	216	49.32%	222	50.68%	
																a
Nonnis Marzano F et al. Genomics. 2008; 91(6):485-91.		GP														
	Italy	(SIDS)	170	80/90	43	25.29%	94	55.29%	33	19.41%	340	180	52.94%	160	47.06%	
																b
Rotondo A et al. Am J Psychiatry. 2002; 159(1): 23-9.																
	Italy	BPD/GP	238	91/147	54	22.69%	121	50.84%	63	26.47%	476	229	48.11%	247	51.89%	
																a
TOTAL			876		213	24.32%	417	47.60%	246	28.08%	1752	843	48.12%	909	51.88%	
AVG						24.51%		48.05%		27.44%			48.54%		51.46%	
Katsuragi S et al. Biol Psychiatry 1999; 45: 368-370.																
	Japan	GP	101	62/39	66	65.35%	31	30.69%	4	3.96%	202	163	80.69%	39	19.31%	
																a
Kumakiri C et al. Neurosci Lett 1999; 263: 205-207.	Japan	GP	144	61/83	85	59.03%	48	33.33%	11	7.64%	288	218	75.69%	70	24.31%	
																a
Murakami F et al. J Hum Genet 1999; 44: 15-17.	Japan	GP	501	269/231	326	65.07%	159	31.74%	16	3.19%	1002	811	80.94%	191	19.06%	
																a
Nakamura K et al. Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet 1997; 74: 544-545.																
	Japan	GP	186	0/186	128	68.82%	55	29.57%	3	1.61%	372	311	83.60%	61	16.40%	
																a
Umekage T et al. NeurosciLett 2003; 337: 13-16.																
	Japan	GP	244	54/190	161	65.98%	70	28.69%	13	5.33%	488	392	80.33%	96	19.67%	
																a
TOTAL			1176	446/729	766	65.14%	363	30.87%	47	4.00%	2352	1895	80.57%	457	19.43%	
AVG						64.85%		30.80%		4.35%			80.25%		19.75%	
THIS STUDY	Jordan	Moscow	18	-	4	22.22%	7	38,89%	7	38.89%	36	15	41.67%	21	58.33%	a
		students														

Ham BJ et al. Neurosci Lett 2004; 354(1): 2-5.	Korea	GP	146	47/99	93	63.70%	47	32.19%	6	4.11%	292	233	79.79%	59	20.21%	
																a
Joo YH et al. J Korean Med Sci 2007; 22(1): 138-141.	Korea	GP	158	69/89	95	60.13%	54	34.18%	9	5.70%	316	244	77.22%	72	22.78%	
																a
Kim SJ et al. J Neural Transm 2006; 113(7): 877-886	Korea	GP	209	101/108	128	61.24%	74	35.41%	7	3.35%	418	330	78.95%	88	21.05%	a
Kim SJ et al. Neuropsychobiology 2005; 51(4): 243-247.	Korea	GP	211	106/105	130	61.61%	72	34.12%	9	4.27%	422	332	78.67%	90	21.33%	
																a
Park JW et al. Headache 2004; 44(10): 1005-1009.	Korea	GP (CTH)	207	0/207	140	67.63%	62	29.95%	5	2.42%	414	342	82.61%	72	17.39%	a
TOTAL			931	323/608	586	62.94%	309	33.19%	36	3.87%	1862	1481	79.54%	381	20.46%	
AVG						62.86%		33.17%		3.97%			79.45%		20.55%	
Suriati et al. Asia-Pacific Psychiatry 2012; 4(2):126-130..	Malaysia	GP									66		22.00%		78.00%	
TOTAL													22.00%		78.00%	
AVG													22.00%		78.00%	
Camarena B et al. Int J Neuropsychopharmacol. 2001; 4(3):269-72.	Mexico	OCD/GP	251	-	76	30.28%	123	49.00%	52	20.72%	502	275	54.78%	227	45.22%	
																a
Cruz C et al. Arch Med Res 1995; 26: 421-426.	Mexico	Paper copy not availablc	72	-	20	27.78%	26	36.11%	26	36.11%	144	66	45.83%	78	54.17%	d
Lanzagorta N et al. Actas Esp Psiquiatr 2006; 34(5): 303-308.	Mexico	GP	57	25/32	21	36.84%	21	36.84%	15	26.32%	114	63	55.26%	51	44.74%	
																a
TOTAL			380	-	117	30.79%	170	44.74%	93	24.47%	760	404	53.16%	356	46.84%	
AVG						31.63%		40.65%		27.71%			51.96%		48.04%	
Nasserddine et al. Int J LifeSc Bt & Pharm Res 2012, 1: 278-281	Morocco	GP	100		20	20.00%	28	28.00%	52	52.00%	100	34	34.00%	66	66.00%	
TOTAL			100		20	20.00%	28	28.00%	52	52.00%	100	34	34.00%	66	66.00%	
AVG						20.00%		28.00%		52.00%			34.00%		66.00%	

Middeldorp CM et al. Behav Genet 2007; 37(2): 294-301.	Netherland	GP	989	-	195	19.72%	455	46.01%	339	34.28%	1978	845	42.72%	1133	57.28%	
														a		
TOTAL			989	-	195	19.72%	455	46.01%	339	34.28%	1978	845	42.72%	1133	57.28%	
Average						19.72%		46.01%		34.28%			42.72%		57.28%	
Caspi A et al. Science. 2003; 301 (5631): 386-9.	New Zealand	GP* (Health + Develop ment Study)	847	-	147	17.36%	435	51.36%	265	31.29%	1694	729	43.03%	965	56.97%	a
TOTAL			847	-	147	17.36%	435	51.36%	265	31.29%	1694	729	43.03%	965	56.97%	
AVG						17.36%		51.36%		31.29%			43.03%		56.97%	
THIS STUDY	Nigeria	Moscow students	37	-	3	8.11%	10	27.03%	24	64.86%	74	16	21.62%	58	78.38%	a
TOTAL			37	-	3	8.11%	10	27.03%	24	64.86%	74	16	21.62%	58	78.38%	
AVG			37	-	3	8.11%	10	27.03%	24	64.86%	74	16	21.62%	58	78.38%	
Landass et al. Journal of Affective Disorders 2011, 129: 308-312	Norway	GP	691		122	17.70%	328	47.50%	241	34.80%	691	287	41.50%	404	58.50%	
Jonassen et al. Frontiers in Human Neurosceience 2012, 6:1-5.	Norway	GP	33	0/33	12	36.36%	11	33.33%	10	30.30%						
TOTAL			724		134	18.50%	339	46.82%	251	34.67%	691	287	41.50%	404	58.50%	
AVG						27.03%		40.42%		32.55%			41.50%		58.50%	
Dragan WL, Oniszczɴko W. Neuropsychobiology 2006; 54(1): 45-50.	Poland	GP	196	0/196	22	11.22%	74	37.76%	100	51.02%	392	118	30.10%	274	69.90%	a
Samochowiec J et al. Neuropsychobiology 2001; 43: 248-253.	Poland	GP	126	-	18	14.29%	67	53.17%	41	32.54%	252	103	40.87%	149	59.13%	a
Sieminska A et al. BMC Med Genet. 2008; 9:76.	Poland	GP	307	162/145	42	13.68%	136	44.30%	129	42.02%	614	220	35.83%	394	64.17%	a

TOTAL			629		82	13.04%	277	44.04%	270	42.93%	1258	441	35.06%	817	64.94%	
AVG						13,06%		45,08%		41,86%			35,60%		64,40%	
Li J et al. Am J Med Genet		GP														
B Neuropsychiatr Genet.	PR China	(parents	558	279/279	323	57.89%	201	36.02%	34	6.09%	1116	847	75.90%	269	24.10%	
2007; 144B(1): 14-9.		of ADHD														
		Kids)	a													
	PR China	SA/!	1110	-	592	53.33%	450	40.54%	68	6.13%	2220	1634	73.60%	586	26.40%	
Shen Y et al. Neurosci Lett.		Pt/GP	a													
2004;372(1-2):94-8.																
You JS et al. Psychiatr																
Genet. 2005;15(1):7-11.	PR China	GAD/GP	228	107/121	138	60.53%	71	31.14%	19	8.33%	456	347	76.10%	109	23.90%	
																a
TOTAL			1896		1053	55.54%	722	38.08%	121	6.38%	3792	2828	74.58%	964	25.42%	
AVG						57.25%		35.90%		6.85%			75.20%		24.80%	
Kumsta et al. J Child																
Psychology and Psychiatry	Romania	Adoptees	125		31	24.80%	59	47.20%	35	28.00%	250	121	48.40%	129	51.60%	
2010, 51: 755-762																
Miu et al.																
Genes, Brains, Behavior	Romania	GP	128								256	115	44.92%	141	55.08%	
2012;11(4):398-403																
TOTAL			253								506	236	46.64%	270	53.36%	
AVG													46.66%		53.34%	
Alfimova MV et al.																
Neurosci Behav Physiol.	Russia	GP	224	109/115	41	18.30%	98	43.75%	85	37.95%	448	180	40.18%	268	59.82%	a
2008; 38(3):253-8.																
Gaysina D et al.																
Neuropsychobiology.	Russia	SA/GP	388	181/207	85	21.91%	184	47.42%	119	30.67%	776	354	45.62%	422	54.38%	
2006;54(1):70-4.																a
Golimbet VE et al. Am J																
Med Genet B																
Neuropsychiatr Genet. 2004;	Russia	!Pt	260	160/100	59	22.69%	119	45.77%	82	31.54%	520	237	45.58%	283	54.42%	
126B(1):1-7.																a
Noskova et al. Prog																
Neuropsychopharmacol Biol	Russia	GP	498	238/260	99	19.88%	243	48.80%	156	31.33%	996	441	44.28%	555	55.72%	
Psychiatry. 2008;32(7):1735-9.																

TOTAL			1370		284	20.73%	644	47.01%	442	32.26%	2740	1212	44.23%	1528	55.77%	
AVG						20.70%		46.43%		32.87%			43.91%		56.09%	
Kolassa et al.																
J Clin Psychiatry	Rwanda	Genocide	408	-	16	3.92%	109	26.72%	283	69.36%	816	141	17.28%	675	82.72%	
2010, 71: 543-547		Survivors														
TOTAL			408		16	3.92%	109	26.72%	283	69.36%	816	141	17.28%	675	82.72%	
AVG						3.92%		26.72%		69.36%	816	141	17.28%	675	82.72%	
Chong SA et al.																
Am J Med Genet. 2000;	Singapore	SCZ	188	149/39	99	52.66%	70	37.23%	19	10.11%	376	268	71.28%	108	28.72%	
96(6):712-5.																a
Chong SA et al.																
Psychiatry Res. 2000;	Singapore	SCZ/GP	441	-	233	52.83%	162	36.73%	46	10.43%	882	628	71.20%	254	28.80%	
97(2-3):101-6.																a
TOTAL			629		332	52.78%	232	36.88%	65	10.33%	1258	896	71.22%	362	28.78%	
AVG						52.75%		36.98%		10.27%			71.24%		28.76%	
Pungercic G et al.																
Psychiatr Genet. 2006;	Slovenia	SV/GP	468	-	88	18.80%	222	47.44%	158	33.76%	936	398	42.52%	538	57.48%	
16(5):187-91.																a
TOTAL			468	-	88	18.80%	222	47.44%	158	33.76%	936	398	42.52%	538	57.48%	
AVG						18.80%		47.44%		33.76%			42.52%		57.48%	
	South															
Esau L et al.	Africa	GP	342	-	16	4.68%	116	33.92%	210	61.40%	684	148	21.64%	536	78.36%	
Neural Transm. 2008;																a
115(5): 755-60.																
	South															
Saunders CJ et al. Hum	Africa	GP	411	411/0	65	15.82%	212	51.58%	134	32.60%	822	342	41.61%	480	58.39%	
Mol Genet. 2006;		(Athletes)														
15(20):2980-7.																a
TOTAL			753	-	81	10.76%	328	43.56%	344	45.68%	1506	490	32.54%	1016	67.46%	
AVG						10.25%		42.75%		47.00%			31.62%		68.38%	

Arias B et al. J Clin Psychopharmacol. 2003; 23(6):563-7.	Spain	MDD/GP	294	114/180	65	22.11%	147	50.00%	82	27.89%	588	277	47.11%	311	52.89%	
																a
Cervilla JA et al. Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet. 2006;141B(8):912-7.	Spain	GP	737	208/529	178	24.15%	367	49.80%	192	26.05%	1474	723	49.05%	751	50.95%	
																a
Dorado P et al. Fundam Clin Pharmacol. 2007; 21(4):451-3.	Spain	MDD/GP	212	94/118	43	20.28%	111	52.36%	58	27.36%	424	197	46.46%	227	53.54%	
																a
Gutiérrez B et al. Hum Genet. 1998; 103(3): 319-22.	Spain	MDD/GP	153	-	31	20.26%	78	50.98%	44	28.76%	306	140	45.75%	166	54.25%	
																a
Martínez-Barrondo S et al. Actas Esp Psiquiatr. 2005; 33(4):210-5.	Spain	PanD/GP	266	-	54	20.30%	116	43.61%	96	36.09%	532	224	42.11%	308	57.89%	
																a
		BPD/UP														
Masoliver E et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2006; 16(1):25-9	Spain	D/ GP	288	-	72	25.00%	132	45.83%	84	29.17%	576	276	47.92%	300	52.08%	
																a
Saiz PA et al. Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry. 2008; 32(3):765-70.	Spain	OCD/!P	975	531/444	212	21.74%	486	49.85%	277	28.41%	1950	910	46.67%	1040	53.33%	
		t/GP														
																a
Sáiz PA et al. Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry. 2007; 31(3):741-5.	Spain	SCZ	227	137/90	59	25.99%	104	45.81%	64	28.19%	454	222	48.90%	232	51.10%	
																a
TOTAL			3152		714	22.65%	1541	48.89%	897	28.46%	6304	2969	47.10%	3335	52.90%	
AVG						22.48%		48.53%		28.99%			46.75%		53.25%	

Gustavsson JP et al. Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet 1999; 88: 430-436.	Sweden	GP	305	163/142	57	18.69%	151	49.51%	97	31.80%	610	265	43.44%	345	56.56%	
																a
Melke J et al. Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet 2001; 105: 458-463.	Sweden	GP	251	0/251	53	21.12%	105	41.83%	93	37.05%	502	211	42.03%	291	57.97%	
																a
Nilsson KW et al. Neurosci Lett 2007; 411(3): 233-237.	Sweden	GP	196	79/117	44	22.45%	90	45.92%	62	31.63%	392	178	45.41%	214	54.59%	
																ab
TOTAL			752	242/510	154	20.48%	346	46.01%	252	33.51%	1504	654	43.48%	850	56.52%	
Average						20.75%		45.75%		33.50%			43.63%		56.37%	
Tsai SJ et al. Psychiatr Genet 2002; 12:165-168.	Taiwan	GP	192	94/98	100	52.08%	71	36.98%	21	10.94%	384	271	70.57%	113	29.43%	
	(China)															a
TOTAL			192	94/98	100	52.08%	71	36.98%	21	10.94%	384	271	70.57%	113	29.43%	
AVG						52.08%		36.98%		10.94%			70.57%		29.43%	
Butovskaya et al. Behav Genet 2012, 42(4):647-62.	Tanzania	GP-Hadza	95	95/0	3	4.00%	34	36.00%	57	60.00%	190	40	21.00%	150	79.00%	a
THIS STUDY	Tanzania	Moscow students	42	-	2	4.76%	16	38.10%	24	57.14%	84	20	23.81%	64	76.19%	a
TOTAL			137		5		50	36.00%	81	60.00%	274	60	21.00%	214	79.00%	
AVG						4.38%		37.00%		58.57%			22.41%		77.59%	
Tencomnao et al Asian Biomedicine 2010, 4: 893-899	Thailand	GP	194		99	51.03%	70	36.08%	25	12.89%	388	268	69.07%	120	30.93%	
TOTAL			194		99	51.03%	70	36.08%	25	12.89%	388	268	69.07%	120	30.93%	
AVG						51.03%		36.08%		12.89%			69.07%		30.93%	
Lotrich et al Am J of Pharmacogenomics 2012, 16: 15-27	Trinidad	GP	169		16	9.50%	45	26.60%	108	63.90%	169	39	23.00%	130	77.00%	
TOTAL																
AVG																

Akcali A et al. Neurol India. 2008; 56(2): 156-60	Turkey	(control to CTH)	264	38/226	86	32.58%	120	45.45%	58	21.97%	528	292	55.30%	236	44.70%	a
Mergen H et al. Endocr J. 2007;54(1):89-94.	Turkey	GP	399	-	121	30.33%	184	46.12%	94	23.56%	798	426	53.38%	372	46.62%	a
Pata C et al. Am J Gastroenterol. 2002; 97(7):1780-4.	Turkey	GP	145	76/69	54	37.24%	62	42.76%	29	20.00%	290	170	58.62%	120	41.38%	a
Yilmaz M et al. J Neurol Sci. 2001; 186(1-2):27-30	Turkey	GP (control to migraine)	132	-	37	28.03%	54	40.91%	41	31.06%	264	128	48.48%	136	51.52%	a
Zorolu SS et al. Neuropsychobiology. 2002;45(4):176-81.	Turkey	ADHD/ GP	190	-	57	30.00%	87	45.79%	46	24.21%	380	201	52.89%	179	47.11%	a
TOTAL			1130		355	31.42%	507	44.87%	268	23.71%	2260	1217	53.85%S	1043	46.15%	
AVG						39.55%		55.26%		30.20%			53.73%		46.27%	
Deary IJ et al. Psychol Med 1999; 29: 735-739.	UK	GP	204	-	43	21.08%	101	49.51%	60	29.41%	408	187	45.83%	221	54.17%	a
Munafo MR et al. Neuropsychobiology 2006; 53(1): 1-8.	UK	GP	251	85/166	46	18.33%	129	51.39%	76	30.28%	502	221	44.02%	281	55.98%	a
Willis-Owen SA et al. Biol Psychiatry 2005; 58(6): 451-456	UK	GP	5433	-	981	18.06%	2610	48.04%	1842	33.90%	10866	4572	42.08%	6294	57.92%	a
TOTAL			5888	-	1070	18.17%	2840	48.23%	1978	33.59%	11776	4980	42.29%	6796	57.71%	
AVG						19.15%		49.65%		31.20%			43.98%		56.02%	
THIS STUDY	Ukraine	GP	41	-	11	26.83%	15	36.59%	15	36.59%	82	37	45.12%	45	54.89%	a
TOTAL			41	-	11	26.83%	15	36.59%	15	36.59%	82	37	45.12%	45	54.89%	
AVG					11	26.83%	15	36.59%	15	36.59%	82	37	45.12%	45	54.89%	

Genotyping Method:
a. PCR/Gel Electrophoresis, b. PCR/Sequencing, c. PCR/Gel Microchip Electrophoresis, d. Paper Not Available

Population and DNA samples analyzed in this study.

Buccal swabs or blood samples were collected from Moscow students or from general population (Ukraine). Samples were obtained and analyzed after advice of the IRB of Institute of General Genetics RAS in accordance with the declaration of Helsinki. Anonymous ID numbers were applied to the DNA samples in order to provide the confidentiality of all subjects. DNA was isolated by standard protocols. Primers and PCR conditions used to analyze HTTLPR polymorphism are available by request. This part of the study is supported by RFBR 10-04-01802.

REFERENCES

Akcali, A et al. (2008), *Neurol India*. 56(2): 156–60.
Alfimova, MV et al. (2008), *Neurosci Behav Physiol*. 38(3): 253–8.
Anderson, GM et al. (2002), *Mol Psychiatry* 7(8): 831–6.
Arbelle, S et al. (2003), *Am J Psychiatry* 160(4): 671–6.
Arias, B et al. (2003), *J Clin Psychopharmacol*. 23(6): 563–7.
Auerbach, J et al. (1999), *Mol Psychiatry* 4(4): 369–73.
Banerjee, E et al. (2006), *Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet*. 141B(4): 361–6.
Bellivier, F et al. (2001), *Am J Med Genet*. 105(8): 758–60.
Bellivier, F et al. (1998), *Neurosci Lett*. 255(3): 143–6.
Borroni, B et al. (2005), *J Headache Pain* 6(4): 182–4.
Butovskaya et al. (2012), *Behav Genet* 42(4): 647–62.
Camarena, B et al. (2001), *Int J Neuropsychopharmacol*. 4(3): 269–72.
Caspi, A et al. (2003), *Science* 301 (5631): 386–9.
Cervilla, JA et al. (2006), *Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet*. 141B(8): 912–7.
Chabane, N et al. (2004), *Neurosci Lett*. 363(2): 154–6.
Chong, SA et al. (2000), *Am J Med Genet*. 96(6): 712–5.
Chong, SA et al. (2000), *Psychiatry Res*. 97(2-3): 101–6.
Costa, JE et al. (2008), *J Oral Sci*. 50(2): 193–8.
Courtet, P et al. (2004), *Biol Psychiatry* 55(1): 46–51.
Cruz, C et al. (1995), *Arch Med Res* 26: 421–426.
Deary, IJ et al. (1999), *Psychol Med* 29: 735–739.
Dorado, P et al. (2007), *Fundam Clin Pharmacol*. 21(4): 451–3.
Dragan, WL, Oniszczenko W. (2006), *Neuropsychobiology* 54(1): 45–50.
Ebstein, RP et al. (1997), *Mol Psychiatry* 2: 224–226.
Esau, L et al. (2008), *Neural Transm*. 115(5): 755–60.
Forero et al. (2006), *Journal of Neuro Transmission* 113: 1253–1262.
Gaysina et al. (2006), *Neuropsychobiology* 54(1): 70–4.
Golimbet et al. (2004), *Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet*. 126B(1): 1–7.
Gonda, X et al. (2009), *J Affect Disord*. 112 (1-3): 19–29.
Grevet, EH et al. (2007), *J Neural Transm*. 114(12): 1631–6.
Guhathakurta, S et al. (2006), *Brain Res*. 1092(1): 28–35.

Gustavsson, JP et al. (1999), *Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet* 88: 430–436.
Gutiérrez, B et al. (1998), *Hum Genet*. 103(3): 319–22.
Ham, BJ et al. (2004), *Neurosci Lett* 354(1): 2–5.
Hammoumi, S et al. (1999), *Alcohol*. 17(2): 107–12.
Hoefgen, B et al. (2005), *Biol Psychiatry* 57(3): 247–51.
Hranilovic et al. (2003), *Biol. Psychiatry* 54: 884–889
Jacob, CP et al. (2004), *Am J Psychiatry* 161(3): 569–572.
Jonassen et al. (2012), *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 6: 1–5.
Joo, YH et al. (2007), *J Korean Med Sci* 22(1): 138–141.
Jorm, AF et al. (1998), *Mol Psychiatry* 3: 449–451.
Juhasz, G et al. (2003), *J Neurogenet*. 17(2-3): 231–40.
Katsuragi, S et al. (1999), *Biol Psychiatry* 45: 368–370.
Kim, SJ et al. (2006), *J Neural Transm* 113(7): 877–886.
Kim, SJ et al. (2005), *Neuropsychobiology* 51(4): 243–247.
Kolassa et al. (2010), *J Clin Psychiatry* 71: 543–547.
Koller, G et al. (2008), *Psychiatr Genet*. 18(2): 59–63.
Kotler, M et al. (1999), *Mol Psychiatry* 4(4): 313–4.
Kumakiri, C et al. (1999), *Neurosci Lett* 263: 205–207.
Kumar, HB et al. (2007), *Psychiatr Genet*. 17(5): 253–60. Erratum in (2007), *Psychiatr Genet*. 17(6): 360.
Kumsta et al. (2010), *J Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 51: 755–762.
Landass et al. (2011), *Journal of Affective Disorders* 129: 308–312.
Lang, UE et al. (2004), *Neuropsychobiology* 49: 182–184.
Lanzagorta, N et al. (2006), *Actas Esp Psiquiatr* 34(5): 303–308.
Li et al. (2007), *Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet*. 144B(1): 14–9.
Limosin, F et al. (2005), *J Psychiatr Res*. 39(2): 179–82
Lotrich et al. (2012), *Am J of Pharmacogenomics* 16: 15–27
Manor, I et al. (2001), *Am J Med Genet*. 105(1): 91–5.
Maron, E et al. (2005), *Int J Neuropsychopharmacol*. 8(2): 261–6.
Marques, FZ et al. (2006), *Psychiatr Genet*. 16(3): 125–31.
Martaskova et al. (2009), *Folia Biologica* 55: 192–197.
Martínez-Barrondo, S et al. (2005), *Actas Esp Psiquiatr*. 33(4): 210–5.
Masoliver, E et al. (2006), *Psychiatr Genet*. 16(1): 25–9
Mazzanti, CM et al. (1998), *Arch Gen Psychiatry* 55: 936–940.
Meira-Lima, I et al. (2004), *Genes Brain Behav*. 3(2): 75–9.
Melke, J et al. (2001), *Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet* 105: 458–463.
Mendlewicz, J et al. (2004), *Eur J Hum Genet*. 12(5): 377–82.
Mergen, H et al. (2007), *Endocr J*. 54(1): 89–94.
Michaelovsky, E et al. (1999), *Mol Psychiatry* 4(1): 97–9.
Middeldorp, CM et al. (2007), *Behav Genet* 37(2): 294–301.
Mileva-Seitz et al. (2011), *Genes, Brains, and Behavior* 10: 325–333.
Miu et al. (2012), *Genes, Brains, Behavior* 11(4): 398–403.
Monteleone, P et al. (2006), *Psychosom Med* 68(1): 99–103.
Munafò, MR et al. (2009), *Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet*. 150B(2): 271–81.
Munafo, MR et al. (2006), *Neuropsychobiology* 53(1): 1–8.
Murakami, F et al. (1999), *J Hum Genet* 44: 15–17.

Nakamura, K et al. (1997), *Am J Med Genet Neuropsychiatr Genet* 74: 544–545.
Nasserddine et al. (2012), *Int J LifeSc Bt & Pharm Res* 1: 278–281.
Naylor, L et al. (1998), *Mol Med.* 4(10): 671–4.
Ni et al. (2006), *Journal of Psychiatric Research* 40: 448–453.
Nilsson, KW et al. (2007), *Neurosci Lett* 411(3): 233–237.
Nonnis Marzano, F et al. (2008), *Genomics* 91(6): 485–91.
Noskova et al. (2008), *Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry* 32(7): 1735–9.
Oliveira, JR et al. (2000), *Mol Psychiatry* 5(4): 348–9.
Olsson, CA et al. (2005), *Mol Psychiatry* 10(9): 868–76.
Osher, Y et al. (2000), *Mol Psychiatry* 5: 216–219.
Ospina-Duque et al. (2000), *Neuroscience Letters* 292: 199–202.
Paaver, M et al. (2008), *Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry* 32(5): 1263–8.
Park, JW et al. (2004), *Headache* 44(10): 1005–1009.
Pata, C et al. (2002), *Am J Gastroenterol*. 97(7): 1780–4.
Perea et al. (2012), *Journal of Affective Disorders* 136: 767–774.
Pivac et al. (2009), *Neuroscience Letters* 4: 45–48.
Power, T et al. (2010), *Neurobiol Aging* 31(5): 886–7.
Preuss, UW et al. (2001), *Biol Psychiatry* 50(8): 636–9.
Preuss, UW et al. (2000), *Psychiatry Res*. 96(1): 51–61.
Pungercic, G et al. (2006), *Psychiatr Genet*. 16(5): 187–91.
Retz, W et al. (2002), *Neurosci Lett* 319: 133–136.
Rotondo, A et al. (2002), *Am J Psychiatry* 159(1): 23–9.
Rujescu, D et al. (2001), *Psychiatr Genet*. 11(3): 169–72.
Safarinejad (2009), *Journal of Urology* 181: 2656–2661.
Saiz, PA et al. (2008), *Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry* 32(3): 765–70.
Sáiz, PA et al. (2007), *Prog Neuropsychopharmacol Biol Psychiatry* 31(3): 741–5.
Samochowiec, J et al. (2001), *Neuropsychobiology* 43: 248–253.
Sanhueza et al. (2011), *Rev Med Chile* 139: 1261–1268.
Saunders, CJ et al. (2006), *Hum Mol Genet*. 15(20): 2980–7.
Schmitz, A et al. (2007), *Pers Indiv Differ* 42: 789–799.
Shen, Y et al. (2004), *Neurosci Lett*. 372(1/2): 94–8.
Sieminska, A et al. (2008), *BMC Med Genet*. 9: 76.
Sookoian, S et al. (2008), *Obesity (Silver Spring)* 16(2): 488–91.
Sookoian, S et al. (2007), *Sleep*. 30(8): 1049–53.
Stamm, TJ et al. (2008), *Psychiatr Genet*. 18(2): 92–7.
Stefanis, et al. (2011), *Genes, Brains, and Behavior* 10: 536–541
Strobel, A et al. (2000), *Z Different Diagnost Psychol* 21: 194–199.
Suriati et al. (2012), *Asia-Pacific Psychiatry* 4(2): 126–130.
Szekely, A et al. (2004), *Am J Med Genet Part B* 126B(1): 106–110.
Szilagyi, A et al. (2006), *Headache* 46(3): 478–85.
Tencomnao, et al (2010), *Asian Biomedicine* 4: 893–899.
Thierry, N et al. (2004), *Eur Neuropsychopharmacol* 14(1): 53–58.
Togsverd, M et al. (2008), *J Affect Disord.* 106(1/2): 169–72.
Tsai, SJ et al. (2002), *Psychiatr Genet* 12: 165–168.
Umekage, T et al. (2003), *Neurosci Lett* 337: 13–6.
Vormfelde, SV et al. (2006), *J Psychiatr Res* 40(6): 568–576.

Wachleski, C et al. (2008), *Neurosci Lett*. 431(2): 173–8.
Wichers et al. (2008), *Am J Med Genett Part B*. 147B: 120–123.
Wilhelm K et al. (2006), *Br J Psychiatry* 188: 210–5.
Willeit M et al. (2003), *Mol Psychiatry* 8(11): 942–6.
Willis-Owen SA et al. (2005), *Biol Psychiatry* 58(6): 451–456.
Yilmaz M et al. (2001), *J Neurol Sci*. 186(1/2): 27–30.
Yirmiya N et al. (2001), *Am J Med Genet*. 105(4): 381–6.
You JS et al. (2005), *Psychiatr Genet*. 15(1): 7–11.
Zorolu SS et al. (2002), *Neuropsychobiology* 45(4): 176–81.

Table A2 *COMT Val158Met* genotype and allele frequencies in studied countries

Journal	Country /Continent	SubPop	Pop	n-Genotype	met/met (A/A)	met/val (A/G)	val/val (G/G)	n-Allele	%Met (A)	%Val (G)	Genotyping Method
Li et al. Science. 2008. 319:1100-1104.	Algeria	Mozabite						60	42.00	58.00	
TOTAL								60	42.00	58.00	
AVERAGE									42.00	58.00	
Olsson et al. Psychiatric Genetics. 2005, 15: 109-115.	Australia		GP	2032	27.00	50.00	23.00	4064	52.0	48.00	hME
TOTAL				2032	27.00	50.00	23.00	4064	52.0	48.00	
AVERAGE					27.00	50.00	23.00	4064	52.0	48.00	
Weiss et al. Journal of International Nueropsychological Society. 2007, 13: 881-887.	Austria		GP	100	17.00	58.00	25.00	200	46.00	54.00	PCR
Defrancesco et al. Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society. 2011, 17: 1014-1020.	Austria		GP	88	20.45	48.86	30.68	176	44.88	55.12	PCR
TOTAL				188	18.62	53.72	27.66	376	45.48	55.52	
AVERAGE					18.73	53.43	27.84		45.44	54.56	
THIS STUDY	Belarus	Belarussians	GP	60	23.33	48.33	28.33	120	47.50	52.50	PCR
TOTAL								120	47.50	52.50	
AVERAGE								120	47.50	52.50	

Simons et al. Genes, Brains and Behavior. 2009, 8: 5-12.	Belgium		GP	461	21.80	53.70	24.50	922	48.65	51.35	KBioscience
TOTAL								922	48.65	51.35	
AVERAGE								922	48.65	51.35	
Galvao et al. Journal of Nutritional Biochemistry. 2012, 23: 272-277.	Brazil		GP	326	37.70	47.50	14.80	654	61.50	38.50	PCR
Almeida et al. The Pharmacogenetics Journal. 2005, 5: 346-351.	Brazil	European	GP-Female	212				424	45.00	55.00	
Valente et al. J Mol Neurosci. 2011, 43: 516-523.	Brazil		GP	335	7.76	55.22	37.02	670	35.37	64.63	PCR
TOTAL								1748	47.48	52.52	
AVERAGE									47.29	52.71	
Potvin et al. J Pain. 2009, 10: 969-975.	Canada		GP	36	16.67	58.33	25.00	72	45.83	54.17	Not stated
Onay et al. BMC Cancer 2008, 8:6	Canada		GP-Female	714	22.41	49.44	28.15	1428	47.13	52.87	
Sheikh et al., Am J Med Genet B Neuropsychiatr Genet. 2013, 162: 245-252.	Canada		GP, 90.5% Caucasian	401	23.19	47.38	29.43	802	46.88	53.12	
TOTAL								2302	47.00	53.00	
AVERAGE									46.61	53.39	
Liang et al. Archives of Medical Research. 2012, 43: 154-158.	China		GP	189	4.80	32.80	62.40	378	21.20	78.80	PCR
Chen et al. Neuropsycho-pharmacology. 2011, 36: 1593-1598.	China		GP	556	6.47	37.77	55.76	1112	25.55	74.45	PCR
Wang et al. DNA and Cell Biology. 2011, 30: 585-595.	China		GP Female	400	9.00	39.00	52.00	800	28.50	71.50	PCR-RFLP

Yu et al. Am J Med Genet. Part B 2007;144:570e3.	China		GP	115	4.35	37.39	58.26	230	23.04	76.96	PCR
TOTAL				1580	11.39	39.75	48.86	2520	25.60	74.40	
AVERAGE					10.80	39.19	50.00		24.66	75.34	
Forero et al. Neurosci. Res. 2006, 55: 334-341.	Colombia		Control to Alzheimer Disease	161	32.90	55.90	11.20	322	60.90	39.10	PCR
TOTAL				161	32.90	55.90	11.20	322	60.90	39.10	
AVERAGE					32.90	55.90	11.20	322	60.90	39.10	
Nedic et al. Neurosci. Lett.. 2010, 473: 216-219.	Croatia		GP	657	23.74	50.08	26.18	1314	48.78	51.22	PCR
TOTAL								1314	48.78	51.22	
AVERAGE								1314	48.78	51.22	
Serý et al. Neuro Endocrinol Lett. 2006, 27 (1-2):231-235.	Czech Republic	Czech	GP	400	26.00	50.75	23.25	800	51.4	48.6	PCR-RFLP
TOTAL								800	51.4	48.6	
AVERAGE								800	51.4	48.6	
Kring et al. PLoS One. 2009; 4(8):e6696.	Denmark	Danes	GP	271	29.52	52.40	18.08	542	55.72	44.28	Taqman (Kbioscience)
Palmatier et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2004:9:859-70.*	Denmark	Danes	GP	61				102	60.80	39.20	
TOTAL								644	56.52	43.48	

AVERAGE									58.26	42.72	
Wolpert. Dissertation, University of Maryland Baltimore. 2009: online.	Egypt		GP	420	23.81	46.43	29.76	840	52.98	47.02	Real-time PCR
TOTAL				420	23.81	46.43	29.76		52.98	47.02	
AVERAGE				420	23.81	46.43	29.76		52.98	47.02	
Maron et al. Neurosci Lett. 2008, 446: 88-92.	Estonia		GP	110	28.30	55.80	15.90	220	56.20	43.80	Not stated
Nelis et al. PLoS One. 2009, 4: e5472. *	Estonia		GP	976				1952	57.20	42.80	
TOTAL								2172	57.14	42.86	
AVERAGE									56.70	42.30	
DeMille et al. Human Genetics. 2002, 111:521-537.*	Ethiopia	Jews						64	32.80	67.20	
TOTAL								64	32.80	67.20	
AVERAGE								64	32.80	67.20	
Salo et al. Psychiatric Genetics. 2010, 20: 273-281.	Finland		GP	1214	28.20	50.10	21.70	2428	53.25	46.75	PCR
Kauhanen et al. Alcohol Clin Exp Res. 2000:24(2):135-139.	Finland			896	30.02	47.77	22.21	1792	53.90	46.10	PCR-RFLP
Voutilainen et al. PLoS One. 2007: 1;2(1):e181.	Finland			792	28.94	49.37	21.72	1584	53.60	46.40	PCR-RFL
TOTAL								5804	53.55	46.45	
AVERAGE									53.58	46.42	
Saintot et al. Int J Cancer. 2003, 107: 652-657.	France		GP - Female	282	19.50	49.65	30.85	2428	53.25	55.68	PCR-RFLP

Delort et al. Nutr Cancer. 2010, 62:243–251	France		GP - Female	1000	28.30	48.00	23.70	1792	53.90	47.70	
TOTAL								1584	53.60	46.40	
AVERAGE									48.31	51.69	
Osinsky et al. Brain Research. 2012, 1452: 108-118.	Germany		GP	65	35.38	38.46	26.15	130	54.61	45.39	N400
Domschke et al. NeuroImage. 2012, 60: 2222-2229.	Germany		GP	85	30.89	49.41	20.00	170	55.60	44.40	iPLEX
Wacker and Mueller. J Pers Soc Psychol.. 2012, 102: 427-444.	Germany		GP-Male	201	30.85	50.25	18.91	402	55.98	44.03	Not stated
Brandys et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2012, 22: 130-136.	Germany		GP	96	32.30	46.90	20.80	192	55.70	44.30	Not stated
TOTAL				447	31.76	47.65	20.59	894	55.65	44.35	
AVERAGE					32.36	46.26	21.47		55.47	44.53	
Ameyaw et al. Hum Mutat. 2000, 16: 445-446. *	Ghana	Ewe						64	30.00	70.00	
Ameyaw et al. Hum Mutat. 2000, 16: 445-446. *	Ghana	Fanti						74	23.00	77.00	
Ameyaw et al. Hum Mutat. 2000, 16: 445-446. *	Ghana	Ga						92	20.00	80.00	
Ameyaw et al. Hum Mutat. 2000, 16: 445-446. *	Ghana	GP						390	26.00	74.00	
TOTAL								620	25.00	75.00	
AVERAGE									24.75	75.25	
Kalinderi et al. Eur J Neurol. 2008, 15: e83.	Greece		GP	125	28.80	39.20	32.00	500	48.40	51.60	Not stated
Roussos et al. Psychological Medicine. 2008, 38: 1651-1658.	Greece		GP	93	16.13	51.61	32.26	186	41.94	58.06	PCR-RFLP

Stefanis et al. American Journal of Psychiatry. 2005, 162: 1752-1754.	Greece		GP- Male	543	20.60	46.00	33.00	1086	43.60	56.40	PCR
TOTAL								1772	xx	xx	
AVERAGE									44.65	55.35	
Demetrovics et al. Comprehensive Psychiatry. 2010, 51: 510-515.	Hungary		GP	124	25.80	48.40	25.80	248	50.00	50.00	PCR
Kerezturi et al. Am J Med Genet. Part B. 2008, 147B: 1431-1435.	Hungary		GP	284	28.17	53.17	18.66	568	54.76	45.24	Not stated
Mukherjee et al. Molecular Psychiatry. 2010: 15:216-225*.	Hungary							174	56.30	43.70	
TOTAL								990	xx	xx	
AVERAGE									53.69	46.31	
Haraldsson et al. Schizophrenia Bulletin. 2010, 36: 157-167.	Iceland		GP	95	31.58	54.74	13.68	190	58.95	41.05	Not stated
TOTAL				95	31.58	54.74	13.68	190	58.95	41.05	
AVERAGE					31.58	54.74	13.68	190	58.95	41.05	
Das et al. Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry. 2011, 35: 577-587.	India		GP	96				192	43.30	56.70	PCR
Gupta et al. Pharmacogenomics. 2009, 10(3):385-97	India		GP	239	17.15	53.56	29.29	478	43.93	56.07	
Syamala et al. Cancer Investigation. 2010, 28: 304-311.	India		GP	367	17.70	44.70	37.60	734	40.12	59.78	PCR-RFLP
TOTAL								1404	44.78	55.22	
AVERAGE									42.45	57.55	

Omrani et al. J Res Med Sci. 2009, 14: 217-222.	Iran		GP - Male	107	1.86	93.45	4.67	214	48.50	51.40	Not stated
TOTAL				107	1.86	93.45	4.67	214	48.50	51.40	
AVERAGE					1.86	93.45	4.67		48.50	51.40	
Williams et al. Am J Psychiatry. 2005.162:1736-8.	Ireland			961	23.93	46.72	29.34	1922	47.29	52.71	
Palmatier et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2004 9: 859-70.*	Ireland							230	50.00	50.00	
TOTAL				61	15.00	62.00	23.00				
AVERAGE					15.00	62.00	23.00	2252	48.65	51.35	
Poyurovsky et al. Neurosci. Lett. 2005, 389: 21-24.	Israel		GP	171	20.00	52.00	28.00	342	46.00	54.00	Not stated
Mukherjee et al. Molecular Psychiatry. 2010: 15:216-225*.	Israel	Ashkenazi						146	48.60	51.40	
TOTAL				171	20.00	52.00	28.00	488	46.78	53.22	
AVERAGE					20.00	52.00	28.00		47.30	52.70	
Nobile et al. Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry. 2010, 19: 549-557.	Italy		GP	575	22.60	48.00	29.40	575	46.60	53.40	Taqman Assay
Rotondo et al. American Journal of Psychiatry. 2002, 159: 23-29.	Italy		GP	127	15.00	48.00	37.00	254	39.00	61.00	PCR
Brandys et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2012, 22: 130-136.	Italy		GP	83	20.50	53.00	26.50	166	47.00	53.00	Not stated
Brandys et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2012, 22: 130-136.	Italy		GP	146	27.40	43.10	29.50	292	49.00	51.00	Not stated
TOTAL				964	21.99	48.13	29.88	1287	45.70	54.30	

AVERAGE					20.74	50.54	28.72		45.40	54.60	
Hiyoshi et al. Gene. 2012, 496: 97-102.	Japan		GP	1808	13.16	45.13	41.70	3616	35.73	64.27	Invader Assay
Htun et al. Am J Hypertens. 2011, 24: 1022-1026.	Japan		GP - Male	735	10.61	40.82	48.57	1470	31.02	68.98	PCR
Nunokawa et al. Neurposci. Res. 2007, 58: 291-296.	Japan		GP	440	10.90	40.00	49.09	880	30.90	69.10	PCR
TOTAL				2983				5966	33.86	66.14	
AVERAGE									32.55	67.45	
THIS STUDY	Jordan		GP	21	38.10	33.33	28.57	42	54.76	45.24	Real-time PCR
TOTAL								42	54.76	45.24	
AVERAGE								42	54.76	45.24	
Lee and Kim. Neuropsychobiology. 2011, 63: 177-182.	Korea, South		GP	170	9.41	50.00	40.59	340	34.41	65.59	PCR
Yim et al. Pharmacogenetics. 2001, 11:279–286	Korea, South		GP-Female	163	9.82	28.22	61.96	326	23.93	76.07	
Kang Epidemiol Health. 2010, 32:e2010011.	Korea, South		GP	348	6.90	37.90	55.20	696	25.28	74.2	PCR
TOTAL				843	8.07	42.35	49.58	1362	27.23	72.77	
AVERAGE					8.38	43.63	48.00		27.88	72.12	
Mukherjee et al. Molecular Psychiatry. 2010: 15:216-225. *	Laos	Lao Loum		113				226	22.10	77.90	
TOTAL								226	22.10	77.90	
AVERAGE									22.10	77.90	

Wan et al. Psychiatry Research. 2011. 189: 67-71.	Malaysia		GP	417	9.35	36.21	54.44	834	72.54	27.46	PCR
TOTAL				417	9.35	36.21	54.44	834	72.54	27.46	
AVERAGE					9.35	36.21	54.44		72.54	27.46	
Tovilla-Zarate et al. BMC Psychiatry. 2011, 11: 151-158.	Mexico		GP	236	15.70	47.60	33.20	472	39.50	60.50	PCR
TOTAL								472	39.50	60.50	
AVERAGE								472	39.50	60.50	
Brandys et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2012, 22: 130-136.	Netherlands		GP	466	32.20	50.00	17.80	932	57.20	42.80	MASS Array
Katerberg et al. Am J Med Genet Part B 153B:167–176	Netherlands		GP	462	26.41	49.35	24.24	924	51.09	48.91	
Stolk et al. J Clin Endocrinol Metab. 2007, 92(8):3206–3212	Netherlands		GP	6069	29.86	49.45	20.69	12138	54.85	45.15	
TOTAL								13944	54.95	45.05	
AVERAGE									54.19	45.81	
Caspi et al. Biol Psychiatry. 2005, 57: 1117-1127.	New Zealand		GP	803	25.00	50.00	25.00	1606	50.00	50.00	PCR
TOTAL					25.00	50.00	25.00		50.00	50.00	
AVERAGE					25.00	50.00	25.00		50.00	50.00	
DeMille et al., Human Genetics. 2002: 111: 521-537.*	Nigeria	Hausa						76	26.30	73.70	
DeMille et al., Human Genetics. 2002: 111: 521-537.*	Nigeria	Ibo						96	26.50	63.50	
Palmatier et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2004. 9:859-870. *	Nigeria	Yoruba						138	34.80	65.20	

TOTAL								310			
AVERAGE									29.20	70.80	
Baekken et al. BMC Psychiatry. 2008, 8: 48-55.	Norway		GP	5531	31.98	49.29	18.73	11062	56.63	43.37	PCR
Hagen et al. Pharmacoepidemiology and Drug Safety. 2008, 17: 372-377.	Norway		GP	2623	31.72	49.56	18.72	5246	56.50	43.50	Not stated
TOTAL				8154	31.90	49.37	18.73	16308	56.59	43.41	
AVERAGE					31.85	49.43	18.73		56.56	43.44	
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Burusho						50	48.00	52.00	Illumina HumanHap650K Beadchip
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Kalash						50	54.00	46.00	Illumina
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Balochi						50	54.00	46.00	Illumina
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Brahui						50	42.00	58.00	Illumina
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Hazara						48	52.00	48.00	Illumina
Li et al. Science. 2008, 319:1100-1104.*	Pakistan	Sindhi						50	42.00	58.00	Illumina
TOTAL								298	48.64	51.36	
AVERAGE									48.67	51.33	
Huerta et al. An Fac Med Lima. 2007, 68: 321-327.	Peru		GP	106	7.00	51.00	42.00	106	32.00	68.00	PCR-RFLP
TOTAL				106	7.00	51.00	42.00	106	32.00	68.00	

AVERAGE					7.00	51.00	42.00	106	32.00	68.00	
Baclig et al. Int Mol Epidemiol Genet. 2012, 3: 115-121.	Philippines		GP	95	1.05	31.58	67.37	190	16.84	83.16	PCR
TOTAL				95	1.05	31.58	67.37	190	16.84	83.16	
AVERAGE					1.05	31.58	67.37	190	16.84	83.16	
Pelka-Wysieka et al. Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry. 2012: online.	Poland		GP	406	25.25	60.54	14.22	406	55.52	44.48	Not stated
Gaudet et al. Cancer Res. 2006, 66:9781–9785**	Poland		GP-female	2279	23.65	49.28	27.07	4558	48.29	51.72	
Samochowiec et al. Psychiatry Research. 2004, 128: 21-26.	Poland		GP	197	28.00	48.00	24.00	394	52.00	48.00	Not stated
TOTAL								5358	49.11	50.89	
AVERAGE									51.94	48.06	
Drury et al. Child Abuse and Neglect. 2010, 34: 387-395.	Romania		Orphans	98	13.27	52.04	34.69	98	39.00	61.00	PCR
TOTAL				98	13.27	52.04	34.69	98	39.00	61.00	
AVERAGE					13.27	52.04	34.69		39.00	61.00	
Palmatier et al. Biol Psychiatry. 1999, 46: 557-567. *	Russia	Russians	Vologda region	48	31.25	39.58	29.17	96	51.00	49.00	
Salnikova et al. Technology of Life Systems. 2009, 6 (4): 42-49.	Russia	Russians	Tula and Briansk region	108	29.63	51.85	18.52	216	55.56	44.44	
Golimbet et al., World J Biol Psychiatry. 2006;7(4):238-45.	Russia	Russians	Moscow	130	22.31	51.54	26.15	260	48.08	51.92	
THIS STUDY	Russia	Russians	St. Petersburg	487	29.98	47.64	22.38	974	53.80	46.20	PCR

TOTAL								1546	52.91	47.09	
AVERAGE									52.11	47.89	
Kolassa et al. Biol Psychiatry. 2010, 67: 304-308.	Rwanda		Genocide Survivors	424	10.85	44.81	44.34	848	33.25	66.75	Not stated
TOTAL				424	10.85	44.81	44.34	848	33.25	66.75	
AVERAGE					10.85	44.81	44.34	848	33.25	66.75	
Lim et al. PLoS One. 2012;7(3):e33767.	Singapore		GP	324	6.20	37.30	56.50	648	24.80	75.20	MASS Array
TOTAL				324	6.20	37.30	56.50	648	24.80	75.20	
AVERAGE					6.20	37.30	56.50		24.80	75.20	
Cerne et al. J Gynecol Oncol. 2011, 22:110–119	Slovenia		GP	270	24.81	50.37	24.81	540	50.00	50.00	Taqman Assay
Pivac et al. Genes Brain Behav. 2011, 10: 565-569.	Slovenia		GP	198	28.28	48.99	22.73	396	52.78	47.22	Taqman Assay
TOTAL				468	26.28	49.79	23.93	936	51.18	48.82	
AVERAGE					24.81	49.68	23.77		51.39	48.61	
Lochner et al. J Clin Psychiatry.2005, 66: 1155-1160.	South Africa		GP - Caucasian	81	16.05	61.73	22.22	162	46.91	53.09	Not stated
TOTAL				81	16.05	61.73	22.22	162	46.91	53.09	
AVERAGE					16.05	61.73	22.22	162	46.91	53.09	
Brandys et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2012, 22: 130-136.	Spain		GP	93	24.70	47.30	28.00	186	48.40	51.60	Not stated
Martorell et al. Schizophr Res. 2008, 100:308-315.	Spain		GP	615				1230	43.30	56.70	

Hoenicka et al. Am J Med Genet. Part B. 2010;153:79e85	Spain			285	24.56	48.42	27.02	570	48.77	51.23	
Costas et al. Journal of Psychiatric Research. 2011, 45: 7-14.	Spain		GP	1025	18.73	51.51	29.76	2050	44.49	55.51	MASS Array
TOTAL				1264	20.09	50.63	29.28	552	44.20	55.80	
AVERAGE					23.82	48.23	27.95		44.13	55.87	
Karling et al. PLoS One. 2011, 6:	Sweden		GP	867	31.00	49.00	20.00	2734	55.00	45.00	PCR
Comasco et al. Psychiatr Genet. 2011, 21: 19-28.	Sweden		GP - Female	272	27.60	48.90	23.50	272	52.00	48.00	Not stated
Aberg et al. Journal of Affective Disorders. 2011, 129: 158-166.	Sweden		GP	2151	30.45	49.00	20.55	4302	54.95	45.05	Not stated
Lorentzon et al. J J Bone Miner Res.. 2004, 19: 2005-2011.	Sweden		GP - Male	458	30.35	51.31	18.34	916	56.00	44.00	PCR
TOTAL				3748	30.34	49.28	20.38	82.24	54.99	55.01	
AVERAGE					29.85	49.55	20.60		54.49	45.51	
Desmeules et al. Health Psychology. 2012, 31: 242-249.	Switzerland		GP	99	25.30	44.40	30.30	198	47.50	52.50	PCR
Baud et al. Am J Med Genet Part B. 2007, 144B: 1042-1047.	Switzerland		GP	185	23.80	57.80	18.40	370	52.70	47.30	PCR
TOTAL				284	24.30	53.17	22.53	568	50.88	49.12	
AVERAGE					24.55	51.10	24.35		50.10	49.90	
Palmatier et al. Biol Psychiatry. 1999, 46: 557-567.*.	Taiwan	Han						100	26.00	74.00	
Liou et al. Neuropsychobiology. 2001, 43: 11-4.*	Taiwan	Han						376	26.90	73.10	

Chen et al. Am J Med Genet. 1996, 67: 556-559*.	Taiwan	Han						198	27.00	73.00	
DeMille et al. Human Genetics. 2002, 111:521-537.*.	Taiwan	Hakka						84	16.70	83.30	
TOTAL								758	25.68	74.32	
AVERAGE									24.15	75.85	
Palmatier et al. Mol Psychiatry. 2004: 9:859-70.*	Tanzania	Chagga						90	27.80	72.20	
TOTAL								90	27.80	72.20	
AVERAGE								90	27.80	72.20	
Sangrajrang et al. Int J Cancer. 2009, 125:837–843.	Thailand			486	6.00	39.00	55.00	486	25.50	74.50	Taqman Assay
TOTAL				486	6.00	39.00	55.00	486	25.50	74.50	
AVERAGE					6.00	39.00	55.00	486	25.50	74.50	
Karacetin et al. Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry. 2012, 36: 5-10.	Turkey		GP	130	20.80	66.90	12.30	130	54.20	45.80	PCR
Baransel Isir et al. Am J Forensic Med Pathol. 2008, 29: 320-322.	Turkey		GP	75	13.30	58.70	28.00	75	42.70	57.30	Not stated
Kocabas et al. Arch Toxicol. 2001, 75: 407-409.*	Turkey							434	45.00	55.00	
TOTAL				205	18.05	63.90	18.05	639	46.48	53.52	
AVERAGE					17.05	62.80	20.15		47.30	52.70	
Dunning et al. J Natl Cancer Inst. 2004, 96:936–994	United Kingdom		GP Female	1908	27.99	48.53	23.48	3816	52.26	47.74	

Shaikh et al. Psychological Medicine. 2011, 41: 263-276.	United Kingdom		GP	192	25.52	51.56	22.92	384	51.30	48.70	Taqman Assay
Yue et al. NueroReport. 2009, 20: 521-524.	United Kingdom		GP	78	32.05	42.31	25.64	156	53.21	46.79	Not stated
TOTAL				299	28.76	48.16	23.08	4356	52.26	47.74	
AVERAGE					32.98	45.08	21.93				
THIS STUDY	Ukraine	Ukrainian	GP	73	26.03	43.83	30.14	146	47.95	52.05	
TOTAL								146	47.95	52.05	
AVERAGE								146	47.95	52.05	

* ALFRED populations

** He et al. (2012), *Mol Biol Rep*. 39: 6811–6823.

Population and DNA samples analyzed in this study

Buccal swabs or blood samples were collected from Moscow students. Samples were obtained and analyzed after advice of the IRB of Institute of General Genetics RAS in accordance with the declaration of Helsinki. Anonymous ID numbers were applied to the DNA samples in order to provide the confidentiality of all subjects. DNA was isolated by standard protocols. Primers and PCR conditions used to analyze COMT Val158Met (rs4680) polymorphism are available by request. This study was partially supported by RFBR 10-04-01802.

Allele Frequency DataBase (ALFRED) was used as a source of *COMT Val158Met* (rs4680) allele frequency data for 29 populations. We searched for additional studies using PubMed with request COMT + country name. 3–4 articles with biggest sample size were selected when available. In case of articles with sample overlap those with low sample size were excluded. Samples which were not in HWE were excluded.

REFERENCES

Aberg et al. (2011), *Journal of Affective Disorders* 129: 158–166.
Almeida et al. (2005), *The Pharmacogenetics Journal* 5: 346–351.
Ameyaw et al. (2000), *Hum Mutat*. 16: 445–446.*
Baclig et al. (2012), *Int Mol Epidemiol Genet*. 3: 115–121.
Baekken et al. (2008), *BMC Psychiatry* 8: 48–55.
Baud et al. (2007), *Am J Med Genet Part B*. 144B: 1042–1047.
Brandys et al. (2012), *Psychiatr Genet*. 22: 130–136.
Caspi et al. (2005), *Biol Psychiatry* 57: 1117–1127.
Cerne et al. (2011), *J Gynecol Oncol*. 22: 110–119.
Chen et al. (1996), *Am J Med Genet*. 67: 556–559.
Chen et al. (2011), *Neuropsychopharmacology* 36: 1593–1598.
Comasco et al. (2011), *Psychiatr Genet*. 21: 19–28.
Costas et al. (2011), *Journal of Psychiatric Research* 45: 7–14.
Das et al. (2011), *Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry* 35: 577–587.
Defrancesco et al. (2011), *Journal of the International Neuro-psychological Society* 17: 1014–1020.
Delort et al. (2010), *Nutr Cancer* 62: 243–251.
Demetrovics et al. (2010), *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 51: 510–515.
DeMille et al. (2002), *Human Genetics* 111: 521–537.
Desmeules et al. (2012), *Health Psychology* 31: 242–249.
Domschke et al. (2012), *NeuroImage* 60: 2222–2229.
Drury et al. (2010), *Child Abuse and Neglect* 34: 387–395.
Dunning et al. (2004), *J Natl Cancer Inst*. 96: 936–994.
Forero et al. (2006), *Neuroscience Research* 55: 334–341.

Galvao et al. (2012), *Journal of Nutritional Biochemistry* 23: 272–277.
Gaudet et al. (2006), *Cancer Res*. 66: 9781–9785.
Golimbet et al. (2006), *World J Biol Psychiatry* 7(4): 238–45.
Gupta et al. (2009), *Pharmacogenomics* 10(3): 385–97.
Hagen et al. (2008), *Pharmacoepidemiology and Drug Safety* 17: 372–377.
Haraldsson et al. (2010), *Schizophrenia Bulletin* 36: 157–167.
He et al. (2012), *Mol Biol Rep*. 39: 6811–6823.
Hiyoshi et al. (2012), *Gene*. 496: 97–102.
Hoenicka et al. (2010), *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part B (Neuropsychiatric Genetics)* 153:79e85.
Htun et al. (2011), *American Journal of Hypertension* 24: 1022–1026.
Huerta et al. (2007), *An Fac Med Lima*. 68: 321–327.
Isir et al. (2008), *Am J Forensic Med Pathol*. 29: 320–322.
Kalinderi et al. (2008), *European Journal of Neurology* 15: e83.
Kang et al. (2010), *Epidemiology and Health* 32: 1–7.
Karacetin et al. (2012), *Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry* 36: 5–10.
Karling et al. (2011), *PLoS One* 6(3): e18035.
Katerberg et al. (2010), *Am J Med Genet Part B* 153B:167–176.
Kauhanen et al. (2000), *Alcohol Clin Exp Res*. 24(2): 135–139.
Kerezturi et al. (2008), *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part B* 147B: 1431–1435.
Kocabas et al. (2001), *Arch Toxicol*. 75: 407–409.*
Kolassa et al. (2010), *Biol Psychiatry* 67: 304–308.
Kring et al. (2009), *PLoS One* 4(8):e6696.
Lee and Kim (2011), *Neuropsychobiology* 63: 177–182.
Li et al. (2008), *Science* 319: 1100–1104.*
Liang et al. (2012), *Archives of Medical Research* 43: 154–158.
Lim et al. (2012), *PLoS One* 7.
Liou et al. (2001), *Neuropsychobiology* 43: 11–4.
Lochner et al. (2005), *J Clin Psychiatry* 66: 1155–1160.
Lorentzon et al. (2004), *Journal of Bone and Mineral Research* 19: 2005–2011.
Maron et al. (2008), *Neuroscience Letters* 446: 88–92.
Martorell et al. (2008), *Schizophr Res*. 100: 308–315.
Mukherjee et al. (2010), *Molecular Psychiatry* 15: 216–225.
Nedic et al. (2010), *Neuroscience Letters* 473: 216–219.
Nelis et al. (2009), *PLoS One* 4: e5472.
Nobile et al. (2010), *Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry* 19: 549–557.
Nunokawa et al. (2007), *Neurposcience Research* 58: 291–296.
Olsson et al. (2005), *Psychiatric Genetics* 15: 109–115.
Omrani et al. (2009), *J Res Med Sci*. 14: 217–222.
Onay et al. (2008), *BMC Cancer* 8: 6.
Osinsky et al. (2012), *Brain Research* 1452: 108–118.
Palmatier et al. (1999), *Biol Psychiatry* 46: 557–567.
Palmatier et al. (2004), *Mol Psychiatry* 9: 859–70.
Pelka-Wysieka et al. (2012), *Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry*: online.

Pivac et al. (2011), *Genes, Brains, and Behavior* 10: 565–569.
Potvin et al. (2009), *J Pain.* 10: 969–975.
Poyurovsky et al. (2005), *Neuroscience Letters* 389: 21–24.
Rotondo et al. (2002), *American Journal of Psychiatry* 159: 23–29.
Roussos et al. (2008), *Psychological Medicine* 38: 1651–1658.
Saintot et al. (2003), *Int J Cancer* 107: 652–657.
Salnikova et al. (2009), *Technology of Life Systems* 6(4): 42–49.
Salo et al. (2010), *Psychiatric Genetics* 20: 273–281.
Samochowiec et al. (2004), *Psychiatry Research* 128: 21–26.
Sangrajrang et al. (2009), *Int J Cancer* 125:837–843
Serý et al. (2006), *Neuro Endocrinol Lett*. 27(1/2): 231–235.
Shaikh et al. (2011), *Psychological Medicine* 41: 263–276.
Simons et al. (2009), *Genes, Brains and Behavior* 8: 5–12.
Stefanis et al. (2005), *American Journal of Psychiatry* 162: 1752–1754.
Stolk et al. (2007), *J Clin Endocrinol Metab*. 92(8):3206–3212.
Syamala et al. (2010), *Cancer Investigation* 28: 304–311.
Tovilla-Zarate et al. (2011), *BMC Psychiatry* 11: 151–158.
Valente et al. (2011), *J Mol Neurosci*. 43: 516–523.
Voutilainen et al. (2007), *PLoS One* 1;2(1):e181.
Wacker and Mueller (2012), *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102: 427–444.
Wan et al. (2011), *Psychiatry Research* 189: 67–71.
Wang et al. (2011), *DNA and Cell Biology* 30: 585–595.
Weiss et al. (2007), *Journal of International Neuropsychological Society* 13: 881–887.
Williams et al. (2005), *Am J Psychiatry* 162: 1736–8.
Wolpert et al. (2012), *Urol Oncol*. 30(6): 841–847.
Yim et al. (2001), *Pharmacogenetics* 11: 279–286.
Yue et al. (2009), *NueroReport* 20: 521–524.

Table A3 STR allele frequencies

D8_8	D8_9	D8_10	D8_11	D8_12	D8_13	D8_14	D8_15	D8_16	D8_17	D8_18	D8_19
0	0	0,205	0,034	0,08	0,148	0,25	0,25	0,034	0	0	0
0,011	0,017	0,083	0,076	0,161	0,317	0,193	0,115	0,023	0,004	0,001	0
0	0,011	0,033	0,109	0,196	0,337	0,196	0,054	0,043	0,022	0	0
0,02	0,005	0,083	0,077	0,135	0,309	0,241	0,099	0,032	0	0	0
0,005	0,01	0,105	0,06	0,185	0,255	0,25	0,11	0,02	0	0	0
0,0207	0,0145	0,0971	0,1054	0,1302	0,3161	0,1921	0,093	0,0248	0,0062	0	0
0	0	0,141	0,113	0,133	0,222	0,168	0,16	0,051	0,008	0,004	0
0,006	0,01	0,063	0,083	0,128	0,332	0,231	0,116	0,029	0,003	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0,007	0,01	0,087	0,062	0,152	0,341	0,221	0,112	0,005	0,0003	0	0
0,015	0,006	0,057	0,108	0,111	0,208	0,242	0,191	0,046	0,011	0,004	0
0,014	0,008	0,05	0,078	0,169	0,433	0,169	0,056	0,014	0,008	0	0
0,017	0,011	0,086	0,078	0,137	0,321	0,213	0,095	0,036	0,005	0,001	0
0	0	2	0,022	0,037	0,134	0,187	0,303	0,216	0,08	0,017	0
0,021	0,004	0,095	0,063	0,112	0,311	0,217	0,136	0,032	0,007	0,004	0
0,0145	0,0123	0,0624	0,0761	0,1516	0,3107	0,2211	0,1187	0,0287	0,0031	0,0005	0
0,013	0,023	0,07	0,073	0,149	0,268	0,275	0,113	0,017	0	0	0
0,011	0	0,158	0,066	0,095	0,138	0,198	0,21	0,106	0,011	0,006	0
0,0067	0,02	0,0867	0,06	0,1333	0,3067	0,1633	0,1467	0,06	0,0167	0	0

0,022	0,014	0,074	0,083	0,114	0,306	0,206	0,143	0,034	0,003	0	0
0	0,005	0,144	0,071	0,12	0,235	0,222	0,135	0,063	0,006	0	0
0,005	0,005	0,005	0,068	0,132	0,253	0,237	0,232	0,042	0,016	0,005	0
0	0	0,089	0,086	0,104	0,208	0,239	0,173	0,081	0,015	0,005	0
0	0,004	0,021	0,03	0,118	0,19	0,35	0,197	0,068	0,017	0,004	0
0,01	0,008	0,083	0,076	0,135	0,338	0,23	0,096	0,022	0,002	0	0
0,015	0,003	0,159	0,067	0,086	0,196	0,164	0,208	0,093	0,005	0,005	0
0,01	0,009	0,069	0,067	0,166	0,339	0,218	0,094	0,023	0,005	0	0
0,024	0,014	0,053	0,087	0,139	0,356	0,197	0,087	0,038	0,005	0	0
0,005	0,005	0,063	0,08	0,193	0,332	0,192	0,096	0,028	0,005	0	0
0	0	0,0192	0,0577	0,1538	0,1538	0,2692	0,2788	0,0385	0,0288	0	0
0,004	0,002	0,116	0,087	0,15	0,251	0,166	0,152	0,062	0,01	0	0
0,0047	0,0047	0,0623	0,0592	0,1682	0,3115	0,2414	0,1231	0,0234	0,0016	0	0
0,016	0,0068	0,105	0,0822	0,1416	0,2717	0,226	0,1164	0,032	0,0023	0	0
0,008	0,012	0,098	0,068	0,159	0,332	0,188	0,112	0,019	0,003	0	0
0,0146	0,0073	0,0947	0,0947	0,1335	0,2694	0,2087	0,1359	0,0364	0,0049	0	0
0	0	0,0289	0,0549	0,1329	0,1561	0,3237	0,2023	0,1012	0	0	0
0,005	0	0,149	0,097	0,105	0,153	0,193	0,195	0,078	0,023	0,003	0
0,023	0,019	0,061	0,06	0,111	0,258	0,247	0,171	0,042	0,008	0	0
0,0108696	0,0072464	0,0507246	0,076087	0,1557971	0,3152174	0,2427536	0,115942	0,0217391	0,0036232	0	0

Forensic STR allele frequency tables were downloaded from Database for autosomal short tandem repeats (http://allstr.de) and ALFRED database (http://alfred.med.yale.edu/alfred/)

Data for the following countries were added.

Country	Reference			Comments
Algeria	Bosch E, Clarimón J, Pérez-Lezaun A, Calafell F.	STR data for 21 loci in northwestern Africa.	Forensic Sci Int. 2001 Feb 1;116(1):41-51.	Algeria: data for Mozabites
Bangladesh	Ferdous A, Ali ME, Alam S, Hasan M, Hossain T, Akhteruzzaman S.	Forensic evaluation of STR data for the PowerPlex 16 System loci in a Bangladeshi population.	Leg Med (Tokyo). 2009 Jul;11(4):198-9	
Belarus	Stepanov V.A. et al.,	Characteristics of Populations of the Russian Federation over the Panel of Fifteen Loci Used for DNA Identification and in Forensic Medical Examination.	Acta Naturae. 2011. Т. 3. № 2 (9). С. 59-71. (in Russian)	All regions of Belarus
Britain	Tucker VC, Hopwood AJ, Sprecher CJ, McLaren RS, Rabbach DR, Ensenberger MG, Thompson JM, Storts DR.	Developmental validation of the PowerPlex(®) ESI 16 and PowerPlex(®) ESI 17 Systems: STR multiplexes for the new European standard.	Forensic Sci Int Genet. 2011 Nov;5(5):436-48.	
Czech Rep.	Simková H, Faltus V, Marvan R, Pexa T, Stenzl V, Broucek J, Horínek A, Mazura I, Zvárová J	Allele frequency data for 17 short tandem repeats in a Czech population sample.	Forensic Sci Int Genet. 2009 Dec;4(1):e15-7.	

Ghana	Poetsch M, Ergin Z, Bayer K, El-Mostaqim D, Rakotomavo N, Browne EN, Timmann C, Horstmann RD, Schwark T, von Wurmb-Schwark N.	The new Powerplex® ESX17 and ESI17 kits in paternity and maternity analyses involving people from Africa--including allele frequencies for three African populations.	Int J Legal Med. 2011 Jan;125(1):149-54	
Iceland	Andreassen R, Pereira L, Dupuy BM, Mevaag B.	Icelandic population data for the STR loci in the AMPFlSTR SGM Plus system and the PowerPlex Y-system.	Forensic Sci Int Genet. 2010 Jul;4(4):e101-3.	
Iran	Shepard EM, Herrera RJ.	Iranian STR variation at the fringes of biogeographical demarcation.	Forensic Sci Int. 2006 May 10;158(2-3):140-8.	
Nigeria	Hohoff C, Schürenkamp M, Brinkmann B.	Meiosis study in a population sample from Nigeria: allele frequencies and mutation rates of 16 STR loci	International Journal of Legal Medicine, 2009, Volume 123, Number 3, Pages 259-261	
Norwey	Andreassen R, Jakobsen S, Mevaag B.	Norwegian population data for the 10 autosomal STR loci in the AMPFlSTR SGM Plus system.	Forensic Sci Int. 2007 Jul 20;170(1):59-61	
Pakistan	Rakha A, Yu B, Hadi S, Sheng-Bin L.	Population genetic data on 15 autosomal STRs in a Pakistani population sample.	Leg Med (Tokyo). 2009 Nov;11(6):305-7.	
Romania	Barbarii LE, Rolf B, Constantinescu C, Hohoff C, Calistru P, Dermengiu D.	Allele frequencies of 13 short tandem repeat (STR) loci in the Romanian population.	Forensic Sci Int. 2004 May 10;141(2-3):171-4.	

Russians	Stepanov VA, Melnikov AV, Lash-Zavada AY, Kharkov VN, Borinskaya SA, Tyazhelova TV, Zhukova OV, Schneider YV, Shil'nikova IN, Puzyrev VP, Rybakova AA, Yankovsky NK.	Genetic variability of 15 autosomal STR loci in Russian populations.	Leg Med (Tokyo). 2010 Sep;12(5):256-8. Epub 2010 Jul 13	Russians from 5 Russian cities (Belgorod, Orel Yaroslavl, Orenburg, Tomsk)
Rwanda	Tofanelli S, Boschi I, Bertoneri S, Coia V, Taglioli L, Franceschi MG, Destro-Bisol G, Pascali V, Paoli G.	Variation at 16 STR loci in Rwandans (Hutu) and implications on profile frequency estimation in Bantu-speakers.	Int J Legal Med. 2003 Apr;117(2):121-6. Epub 2003 Feb 15.	Rwanda: Hutu
Sweden	Montelius K, Karlsson AO, Holmlund G.	STR data for the AmpFlSTR Identifiler loci from Swedish population in comparison to European, as well as with non-European population.	Forensic Sci Int Genet. 2008 Jun;2(3):e49-52.	
Tanzania	Forward BW, Eastman MW, Nyambo TB, Ballard RE.	AMPFlSTR Identifiler STR allele frequencies in Tanzania, Africa.	J Forensic Sci. 2008 Jan;53(1):245.	Meru of Tanzania
Ukraine	Stepanov V.A. et al.,	Characteristics of Populations of the Russian Federation over the Panel of Fifteen Loci Used for DNA Identification and in Forensic Medical Examination.	Acta Naturae. 2011. Т. 3. № 2 (9). С. 59-71. (in Russian)	Central and East Ukraine

Ronald F. Inglehart is the Lowenstein Professor of Political Science and a research professor at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. He is also co-director of the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research at the Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg, Russia. Inglehart helped found the Euro-Barometer surveys and directs the World Values Survey, which has surveyed representative national samples of the publics of 97 countries containing almost 90 percent of the world's population. His research deals with changing belief systems and their impact on social and political change.

Svetlana Borinskaya is a senior research analyst at the Institute of General Genetics, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Anna Cotter is a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Michigan. Her work focuses on terrorist watch list designation and linguistic choices states make regarding violent non-state actors.

Jaanus Harro, MD, PhD has held professorships at the University of Tartu, Estonia in neuropsychopharmacology, health promotion and psychophysiology. His research is on affective neuroscience and includes psychopharmacological and molecular genetic approaches in animals and humans, and population-based longitudinal studies on neurobiology of personality and health-related behaviour. Dr Harro has authored or co-authored about 180 original articles, reviews and book chapters in broadly distributed international publications. He has served in several committees of CINP and ECNP, and is Associate Editor of *European Neuropsychopharmacology* and an Editorial Board Member of *Acta Neuropsychiatrica*. He is also a member of the WHO Expert Advisory Panel on Drug Dependence and a Foreign Member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Uppsala.

Ronald Charles Inglehart is a Research Assistant on oral cancer genetics projects at the Department of Periodontics and Oral Medicine, University of Michigan School of Dentistry. He has co-authored ten peer reviewed articles at this time, in fields ranging from genetics to education.

Eduard Ponarin is the director of Laboratory for Comparative Social Research at the Higher School of Economics, Russia. He holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Michigan (1996). Before he joined HSE, he had taught at the European University at St. Petersburg (1998–2008) where he chaired the department of political science and sociology (2006–2008). Dr. Ponarin is Russia's representative of the World Values Survey Association and a member of the Executive Council of that organization.

Christian Welzel is the Political Culture Research Professor at Leuphana University in Lueneburg, Germany. He is also President (emer.) and Vice-President of the World Values Survey Association and Special Consultant to the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research at the Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg and Moscow, Russia. His research focuses on human empowerment, emancipative values, cultural change and democratization. A recipient of various large-scale

grants, Welzel is the author of more than a hundred scholarly publications. Besides his just published *Freedom Rising* (2013 at CUP, winner of the Alexander L. George Award and the Stein Rokkan Prize, see www.cambridge.org/welzel), the most recent books include: *The Civic Culture Transformed* (with Russell J. Dalton, forthcoming at CUP); *Democratization* (with Christian Haerpfer, Ronald Inglehart and Patrick Bernhagen, at OUP 2009) and *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy* (with Ronald Inglehart, 2005 at CUP).

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 101–140, ISSN: 2164-0262

Women on Boards: Sharing a Rigorous Vision of the Functioning of Boards, Demanding a New Model of Corporate Governance

VIVIANE DE BEAUFORT
Beaufort@essec.fr
ESSEC Business School
LUCY SUMMERS
lucy.summers@uqconnect.edu.au
University of Queensland

ABSTRACT. This study offers Executives and Policy Makers a thorough analysis of the most current data from international organizations and consulting firms, as well empirical evidence from interviews of women 50 executive women who hold mandates on Boards around the globe, on the increasing economic importance of greater gender diversity on Boards. A discussion of the various feasible "strategies" currently being proposed and adopted by different countries and other concerned parties and organizations to increase female Board representation suggests that progress is in sight, but that there are many obstacles to be remedied if women are to be a real engine for a more effective Corporate Governance of Boards. The study provides empirical support that women must be encouraged to bring, in terms of skills and behaviors, a difference to the table if "gender diversity" measures are to have positive and genuine change in the exercise of effective Corporate Governance practices internationally. The study highlights that current and potential female candidates share a rigorous vision of the functioning of Boards and therefore demand a new model of governance based on sustainability, which integrates both masculine and feminine "polarities" within companies and organizations.

Keywords: International Corporate Governance; Board Diversification; evolution of models of governance; women and boards; non-executive board members; gender dimension

RESEARCH QUESTION/ISSUE: The study first seeks to better understand and classify the "added value" effects and economic implications that may plausibly result from a significant push towards increased gender diversity on Boards. Most crucially, the study seeks to identify the paradigm shifts in

the governance of Boards offered by an increased representation of women on Boards, and endeavors to propose a new model that will satisfy their understanding of good governance. Finally, this study endeavors to uncover some of the reasons behind the lack of progress over the past 50 years, looking at both the individual and societal issues and obstacles pertinent to those women who desire such mandates, and in turn seeks to understand and evaluate the best measures being proposed internationally in order to overcome said obstacles.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH FINDINGS: An analysis of the latest data from international consulting and statistical agencies, as well as interviews of 50 women who hold mandates on Boards around the globe, concluded that a significant increase in the number of women on Boards (a representation of at least a third of the Board composition) would bring "diversity" to the Board, enabling a positive and genuine change in the exercise of effective Corporate Governance practices internationally. Furthermore, the study provides empirical support that women must be allowed to bring, in terms of skills and behaviors, a difference to the table if "gender diversity" measures are to have any real, positive impact on the governance and decision-making of Boards.

The study highlights the fact that current and potential female candidates share a rigorous and idealized vision of the functioning of Boards and therefore demand a new model of governance based on sustainability. The study therefore supports the development of a mixed power model that integrates both masculine and feminine "polarities" within companies and organizations.

The implications of such findings subsequently called for an analysis of the literature on the obstacles standing in the way of this goal of increased female representation on Boards. A discussion of the various feasible solutions to such obstacles currently being proposed and adopted by different countries and other concerned parties/organizations suggests that progress is in sight, but that there are many obstacles to be remedied if women are to be a real engine for a more effective Corporate Governance of Boards.

IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS: This study offers executives and policy-makers a thorough analysis of the most current international statistics and empirical data (including interviews of women 50 executive women who hold mandates on Boards around the globe) vis-à-vis the increasing economic importance of gender diversity on Boards. Given the current economic climate, the importance of reversing the trend of high employee disengagement has become one of utmost relevance in Corporate Governance discussions, and the evidence points to a mixed leadership style as the key to reversing this costly trend. Finally, the focused analysis on the

"success" of respective policy options will enable policy makers to make better informed policy decisions in the future, and the extent that these considerations should be employed to properly achieve the overall goal of more effective Corporate Governance on Boards.

1. Introduction

"The corporate world is a place of societal and social power..." (Eugene Enriquez, *Power and desire Games in the Company*, 2007); it is a place of conflicts of power, and even conflicts between people. Most of these conflicts are regulated, more or less effectively, by so-called good governance standards. Among the many issues that arise in the quest for greater efficiency of governance is that the "feminization" of Boards has the potential to be a significant and potential lever of change. Indeed, since more and more women have slowly been brought into positions of power within companies, inquires into the presence and progress of women on boards (Board of Directors, but also within Executive and Management Committees) will become more commonplace, the sources of such inquires coming from:

• State intervention with the *introduction of mandatory quotas* (also referred to as "feminization" laws). Examples include Norway, France, Italy and Belgium (with sanctions), and the Netherlands and Spain (without sanctions).

• *Good governance practices* – e.g. the German Corporate Governance Code 2010 – Section 4.1.5, or the Finnish Corporate Governance Code 2008 – Recommendation 9, the recently reformed UK Corporate Governance Code.[1]

• *Corporate Social Responsibility* (CSR) Considerations: The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) guidelines integrate the perspective of gender diversity as a good governance practice; Global Compact of the UN promotes CSR, and included in its general principles is the goal of eliminating gender discrimination in the workforce.

• *Pressure* generated by rankings, ethical pension funds and the media.

• *The efforts of European Institutions:* the "incentives," and the publishing of reports which has culminated in a draft directive which sets a target of 40% women among non-executive directors of listed companies by 2020.[2]

This initiation and progression of gender diversity now raises questions about the exercise of power within Boards. How do women interpret their position? Do they have the opportunity to position themselves differently, to promote different values or other management practices, in turn creating a mixed model incorporating the female quotient? (Arcier, 2002).

The existence of a specific gender dimension is controversial. As the executive search firm Heidrick & Struggles (2011) pointed out, some people, including women, refuse to attribute certain qualities or behaviors as specific to women: "There is a question about whether women bring another

perspective to the team. This prompts the question as to what extent they really bring diversity. Most of women would find it insulting to be approached for a board seat on the sole or primary basis of gender."

However, the Human Resources literature identifies that the female gender possess a leadership style, as well as intuitive and moral qualities that are indeed different (Dugas, 2007), such as empathy, teamwork, emotional intelligence, courage, caution and/or risk aversion and common sense...

Adopting this perspective, we pose as a postulate that the collective intelligence of the whole group can be increased if women accessing positions of power maintain these supposed "specific" qualities (Woolley, Chabris, Pentland, Hashmi and Malone, 2010).

However, there is a risk of conformism: for a long time the work of Serge Moscovici has established that a minority group (below a proportion of one-third) adopts a conformist reflex or assimilation to the majority group (Sarfati & Gattegno, 2007). In addition, the default stereotypes that surround exercising a leadership position makes this a complex accession to power: "The stereotype that associates men with the skills related to authority and leadership makes it difficult for women in positions of leadership and power, and women therefore tend to censor themselves or start behaving according to these ideals, meaning that they adopt male behaviors …" (Chevalier and Khadir, 2012).

Therefore, if "gender diversity" measures are to have any real, positive impact on the governance and decision-making of Boards, women must be allowed to bring, in terms of skills and behaviors, a difference to the table. It is evident that current and potential female candidates share a rigorous and idealized vision of the functioning of Boards, and therefore demand a new model of governance based on sustainability. The development of a mixed power model, which integrates both masculine and feminine "polarities" within companies and organizations, should therefore be at the forefront of policy-makers and executives' minds when considering the practical changes to governance required if we are to benefit from increased gender diversity on Boards.

2. The Rise of the Number of Women on Boards Is Still Insufficient, Facing These Stereotypes

2.1 Some figures and facts

2.1.1. Extremely slow progress on a global scale

The latest survey by GMI Ratings (2013) on data for almost 6,000 companies in 45 countries reveals "women now hold 11% of board seats at the

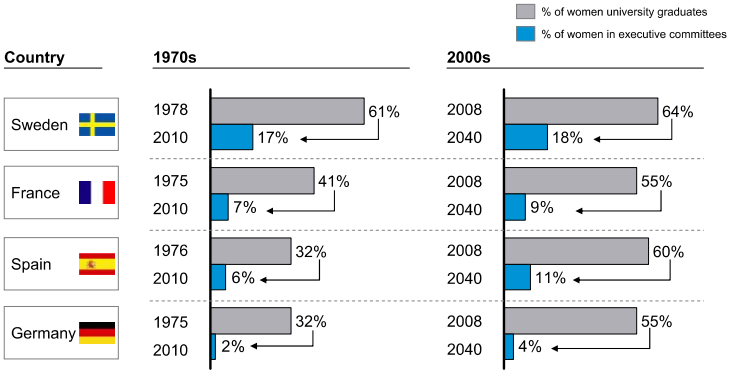
world's largest and best-known companies. This marks an increase of one-half of a percentage point since December 2011 and only 1.7 percentage points since 2009."

2.1.2. A lag in the number of female university graduates and their career 30 years after graduation.

The number of female university graduates has largely increased to represent more than half of the total graduates, yet the number of women in executive committees in Europe over the next 30 years will not increase at all in the same proportion, revealing non-linear gaps in career progression (Graph 1).

GRAPH 1:
Trajectories of women on executive committees
30 years after graduating from university

1970s, 2000s and a linear projection for 2040



Notes: Women graduates are defined as those with the equivalent of a master's degree (Types 5 and 6 in the ISCED methodology); French equivalent: university degrees Bac + 4; executive committee statistics based on McKinsey proprietary database 2010; 2040 extrapolations based on 1975-2008 trends

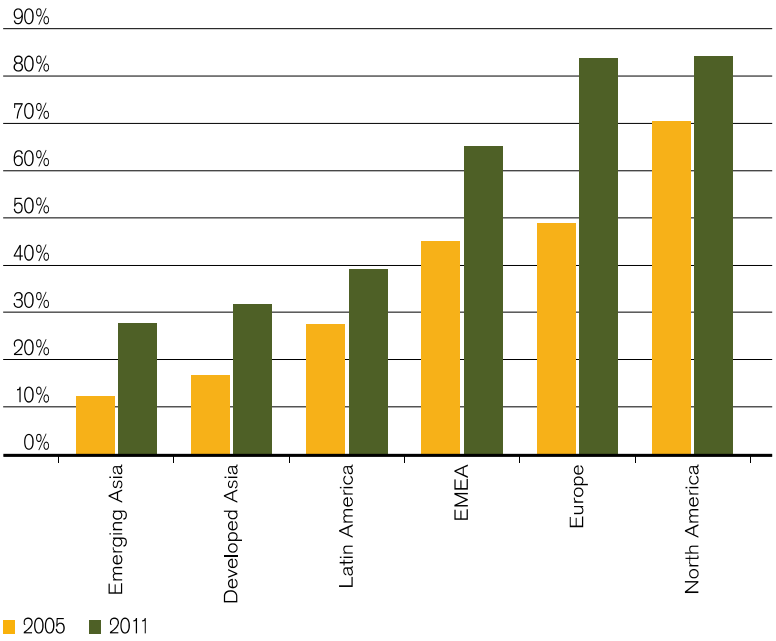
Source: OECD; National statistics; McKinsey proprietary database

Source: McKinsey & Company, Women Matter 2010

2.1.3. Emerging markets lagging even further behind

Globally, women continue to make up a higher percentage of directors in developed markets. Recent data shows that, in emerging markets, the representation of a single female voice on a Board is still a rarity (Graph 2). Moreover, with recent progress in developed countries, this gap is becoming increasingly apparent.

GRAPH 2: Proportion of companies with one or more women on the board (end-2005 vs end-2011) *by region*



Source: Credit Suisse AG (Research Institute), 2012

2.2. The 'blocking' factors

2.2.1 Default stereotypes

"There still exists prejudice about women in top positions – it is hard to break through the ceiling", Isla Ramos Chavez.

Valerie Rocoplan, Executive Management Coach, explains (2012): "The glass ceiling is the result of many intertwined causes. [...] Of all these causes, one of the most important and yet most complex to solve is the prejudices and stereotypes that women face," notably:

1. Women are less available (to invest themselves in their work)
2. They lack leadership
3. Leading is a man's job.

In fact, research into stereotypes identifies inaccuracies concerning the so-called negative managerial skills of women. A study by *"IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cite"* (Chevalier and Khadir 2012) from interviews of 908 male and female managers were able to confirm the existence of gender stereotypes: 44% of the male managers and 51% of the female managers surveyed,

concluded that men and women have different professional skills. Men represent authority and leadership, women: listening and empathy. These stereotypes therefore serve as a hindrance for women aspiring to positions of power. Thus, women have a more complicated, less obvious relationship with power.

Research has consistently shown that as a woman becomes more "powerful," she becomes less liked, while, on the other hand, as a man climbs the corporate ladder, he becomes more liked! Why is there a negative correlation between power and likability for women?

Sheryl Sandberg[3] argues that this is a consequence of negative gender stereotypes propagated by our society since childhood, but that this can be changed: "the more we have women who are leaders, the more we will start to associate leadership characterizes with women, and the less we will be inclined to call our little girls bossy. With every woman who channels her inner self-confidence, and then puts her hand up to be part of a decision-making body, we do our part to change these negative stereotypes."

A recent survey of 7280 leaders by *Zenger Folkman* (2012) revealed that, at all levels, women scored better on 12 of the 16 skills that constitute exceptional leadership. As demonstrated in Table 1, women also "outscored" men in qualities that have long been considered male strengths, notably being able to – *take Initiative* and – *Drive for results*. It was noted that men "outscored" women significantly on one single management skill – *the ability to develop a strategic perspective*. According to Jack Zenger and Joseph Folkman (2012), this is simply due to the fact that "Top leaders always score significantly higher in this competency; since more top leaders are men, men still score higher here in the aggregate. But when we measure only men and women in top management on strategic perspective, their relative scores are the same."

TABLE 1: Skills and competences required by Leaders

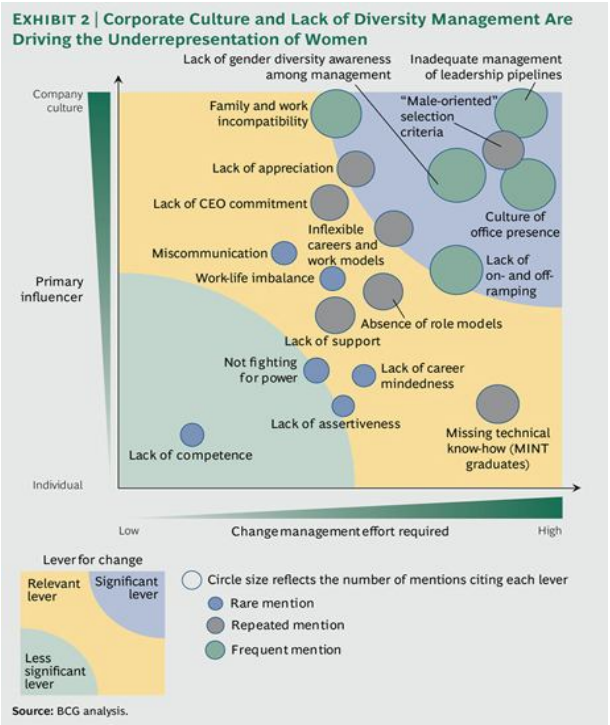
Competence	Male mean (%)	Female mean (%)
Takes Initiative	48	56
Practices Self-Development	48	55
Displays High Integrity and Honesty	48	55
Drives for Results	48	54
Develops Others	48	54
Inspires and Motivates Others	49	54
Builds Relationships	49	54
Collaboration and Teamwork	49	53
Establishes Stretch Goals	49	53
Champions Change	49	53
Solves Problems and Analyses Issues	50	52
Communications Powerfully and Prolifically	50	52
Connects the Group to the Outside World	50	51
Innovates	50	51
Technical or Professional Expertise	50	51
Develops Strategic Perspective	51	49

Source: Zenger Folkman Inc., 2011

2.2.2. The Structural Barriers

Why women are so poorly represented in places of power and leadership? The consulting firm "The Boston Consulting Group" published a report in 2012 identifying several factors that they consider barriers to the rising the numbers of women in decision-making forums (see Exhibit 2). The most cited obstacles of corporate culture and lack of diversity management that are driving the under-representation of women are:

- Inadequate management of leadership pipelines
- Lack of gender diversity awareness among management
- Culture of office presence
- Lack of on- and off- ramping
- Family and work incompatibility
- "Male-orientated" selection criteria



The recent study in 2012 by *Egon Sehnder International* on gender diversity solutions focused on the need to identify other women candidates who remain "under the radar." There are several levers for change: the age of identification of high potential remains open, accepting a less linear and

phase-based career evolution, and the evolution of the types of skills that are sought by Boards – women being often in support functions (Human Resources, communication, law).

2.2.3. The "internal" barriers

The results from the interview analysis[4] remind us that it important to acknowledge that there are internal barriers to women climbing the corporate ladder, and these are within a woman's control! In a brainstorming session for this study, the Alumni of the "Women, Be European Board Ready" Executive programme[5] conceded that in addition to highlighting the skills that women can "bring to the table," "we must also recognize certain female 'weaknesses': absence of self-confidence, the 'imposter complex', the absence of a 'career plan'... and, above all, the difficulty that we experience when needing to delegate." These "weaknesses" are internally driven barriers that need to be discussed so that they can be rectified. The U.S. study in 2011 on the same topic, by Dr Anne Perschel and Jane Perdue, concurred that the typical internally driven barriers that face women include lack of self-confidence, and hesitancy to speak up or act assertively.

"Self confidence is lacking in the female workforce and we are working on it" (Chevalier and Khadir, 2012). Research shows that women have a tendency to question their skill set and underestimate their ability to take on new leadership roles: "Another obstacle is that women often say no to new challenges" (Chevalier and Khadir, 2012) or as Warren Buffett puts it, "too many women continue to impose limitations on themselves, talking themselves out of achieving their potential" (2013). This observation was recently confirmed in McKinsey & Company's latest *Women Matter* Report (2013), where the number of women expressing confidence that they will succeed was about 15 percentage points lower than the number for men, at both middle and senior management levels (Exhibit 3). This not to say that women are any less ambitious than men, in fact, the inverse was shown in this recent study. This lack of confidence appears not to be due a feeling of personal inadequacy, but rather a lack of confidence in their companies' corporate culture in supporting their career progression, highlighting the nexus between "structural barriers" being masked as "internal barriers."

EXHIBIT 3

Women are less confident than men that they will reach the top



Source: McKinsey & Company & Company, Women Matter, 2013

What about the internal inner-critic that causes women to shun the thought of saying something that may not gain support from the majority group (men)? As Sheryl Sandberg preaches, women must learn to "lean in" so that minority voices shed new light on business decision-making possibilities. As a Director of a Directorates-Generalat the European Commission interviewed for this study summarized: "I regard courage as one of my most important personality traits. If you are really courageous… eventually one will succeed."

2.3. The potential initiatives and measures

2.3.1. The leverage effect of quotas

Slow progress on the representation of women on corporate boards has led to the adoption of legal mandates to act as an accelerator. Accordingly, the Catalyst report (2013) shows that twelve countries have, in recent years, implemented quotas, including Norway (2003), Finland (2005), Quebec in Canada (2006), Israel (2007), Spain (2007), Iceland (2010), Kenya (2010), France (2011), Belgium (2011), Italy (2012), Netherlands (2013), Germany (2016), and another 16 countries have adopted softer "comply or explain" legislation.

Analysis of quota policies that have already been implemented show the effectiveness of this legally constructed tool in achieving an increased representation of women in the Boardroom.

2.3.1.1. Industrialized Europe and Nordic Countries leading the global change due to the implementation of Quotas

The latest international data from *GMI Ratings (2013)* demonstrates the highest percentage point changes in the past 5 years, notably in companies with at least 3 women represented, have been attributed to countries in Industrialized Europe and the Nordic Countries (Table 2A).

TABLE 2A: Regional Breakdown of percentage point changes since December 2009 and March 2013

Region	% point change in women on boards	% point change in companies with at least 1 woman	% point change in companies with at least 3 women	% point change in companies with Female Chairs
Australia/New Zealand	5.4%	23.9%	5.7%	0.3%
Industrialized Asia	0.5%	4.1%	1.3%	0.3%
Industrialized Europe	4.0%	17.4%	11.0%	0.5%
Nordic Countries	3.3%	4.8%	11.2%	4.0%
US/Canada	1.8%	6.7%	4.9%	0.4%
Americas	0.1%	3.3%	-2.1%	-3.2%
Emerging Asia	0.3%	1.8%	0.9%	-0.1%
Emerging Europe	1.5%	3.2%	3.7%	-0.3%
Middle East and Africa	2.6%	6.2%	6.0%	-1.9%
Global Change (3yrs)	1.66%	6.4%	4.8%	0.3%
Global Ex-IndEur/ Nordic Change (3yrs)	**0.8%**	**3.5%**	**2.8%**	**0.1%**

Source: GMI Ratings, 2013

Similarly, on a regional scale, GMI Ratings' latest data (2013), as shown in Table 2B, reveals that Industrialized Europe and the Nordic countries have lead the way when it comes to current levels of companies with at least 1 woman represented on a Board. Impressively, almost half of Boards in the Nordic countries now have at least 3 women holding mandates, which is due to the implementation of a 40% quota target in 2004.

TABLE 2B: Current levels of women on boards by Region as at March 2013

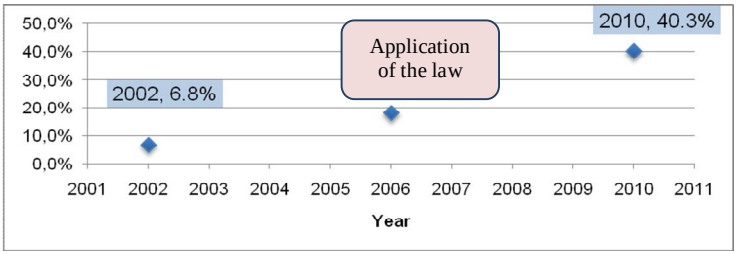
Region	# of companies (2013)	% of women on boards	% of companies with at least 1 woman	% of companies with at least 3 women	% of companies with Female Chairs
Australia/New Zealand	222	14.0%	70.3%	7.7%	2.7%
Industrialized Asia	603	3.0%	24.4%	2.3%	0.8%
Industrialized Europe	898	12.3%	72.5%	18.3%	2.2%
Nordic Countries	125	26.9%	96.0%	47.2%	5.6%
US/Canada	1,633	13.9%	76.2%	15.1%	2.6%
Americas	142	5.2%	37.3%	2.1%	2.1%
Emerging Asia	547	6.0%	40.0%	4.8%	2.0%
Emerging Europe	50	7.9%	52.0%	6.0%	2.0%
Middle East and Africa	112	15.5%	82.1%	27.7%	5.4%
Global	**4,332**	**11.0%**	**62.5%**	**13.00%**	**2.30%**
Global Ex-IndEur/Nordic	**3,309**	**9.9%**	**58.6%**	**10.30%**	**2.20%**

Source: GMI Ratings, 2013

2.3.1.2. The Norwegian example

In 2004, Norway introduced a legal quota of 40% of women on Boards of Directors. Within only 4 years of the application of the law, the percentage of Women on a Board of Directors was successfully attainted, going from 18.0% to 40.3% (refer to Graph 3).

GRAPH 3: Percentage of Women on the Board of Directors (Norway)

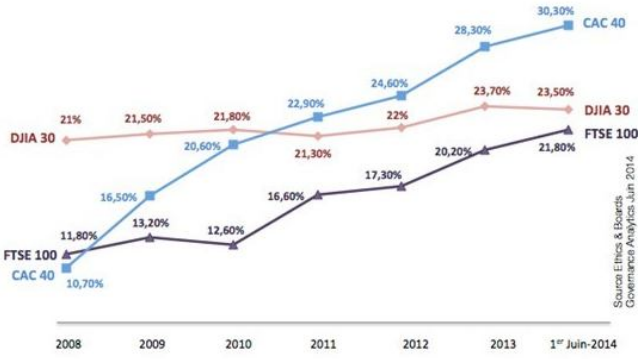


Source: Natividad, 2010

2.3.1.3. The relevance of the French example

In 2011, the French parliament followed Norway's lead with the introduction of the *Copé-Zimmermann* law, which sets a quota with a target of 20% of women on *Boards of Directors* by 2014, and 40% by the end of 2017. The evolution of the percentages of women on *Boards of Directors* in France over the past 7 years is shown in Graph 4. According to the data recently analyzed by GMI Ratings (2013), France now ranks fourth in the world for percentage of female directors, and more than half of French boards have at least three women.

GRAPH 4: Evolution of women on *Boards of Directors* (France)

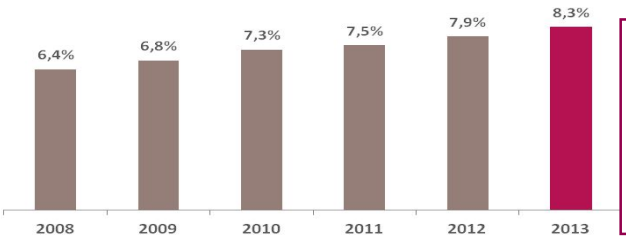


3x more women on CAC 40 Boards in the past 7 years!

Source: Ethics & Boards, 2014

However, the comparison with the situation on *Management and Executive Committees* in France demonstrates the fact that, outside these quotas that apply only to the mandates for *Boards of Directors*, there is very limited progress when it comes to the appointment of women to Executive Committees:

GRAPH 5: Evolution of the percentage of women on *Executive Committees* (France)



Source: Capitalcom, 2012 and 2013

In France, the law sets quotas for companies that "employ an average of at least 500 permanent employees and have a turnover or total assets of at least 50 million euros," which applies to some 2,000 companies.

The law provides that:

• If, at the date of publication of the law, one of the two sexes is not represented on the Board of Directors, the appointment of the next Director must be of this sex.
• On 1 January 2014, the proportion of members of the Board of Directors of each sex cannot be less than 20%
• On 1 January 2017, the proportion of members of the Board of Directors of each sex cannot be less than 40%

As well as two sanctions:

• The invalidity of any appointment in violation of the law (but not the nullity of the proceedings to which the administrator has already participated).
• The suspension of remuneration of the Directors until the board meets the quota.

2.3.1.4. The European Commission's commitment to gender equality on Boards

The European Commission's commitment to putting the increase of gender equality on Boards high on the political agenda, has made it a driving force in the discussion over how to best tackle the problem of gender imbalance in the Boardroom. As demonstrated by Graph 6, in 2011, the European Commission called for self-regulation, and in early 2012 revealed that at the current rate of progress, it would take around 40 years before companies would naturally reach gender balanced Boards (Europa, April 2014). As such, the discussion into mandatory measures in the form of quotas was explored in a public consultation, resulting in a Directive in late 2012 (40%

objective of non-executive directors of listed companies by 2020), which the European Parliament backed in late 2013 (Europa, November 2013). The Commission's proposal then passed to the Council of Ministers. In June 2014, the Council issued a Progress Report stating that there is not yet consensus on passing this Directive, indicating that "a number of delegations continue to prefer national measures (or non-binding measures at the EU level) whereas others support EU-wide legislation," averting that "further work and political reflection will be required before a compromise can be reached" by the Council of Ministers (Europa, June 2014).

GRAPH 6: Progress in the European Union following initiatives by the European Commission



Source: Europa, 2014

As of late 2013, women in the European Union hold an average 17.8% of boardroom mandates, up from 11.9% in late 2010, meaning that the share of women on boards has risen an average of 2.2 percentage points per year – four times the rate of change between 2003 and 2010 (Europa, April 2014). While progress is generally higher in countries that already introduced mandatory quotas, it has also been observed that the threat of mandatory legislation on a European scale has brought this issue to the attention of national policy-makers, such as the United Kingdom.

2.3.1.5. The recent efforts of the United Kingdom encouraging the market to regulate the problem

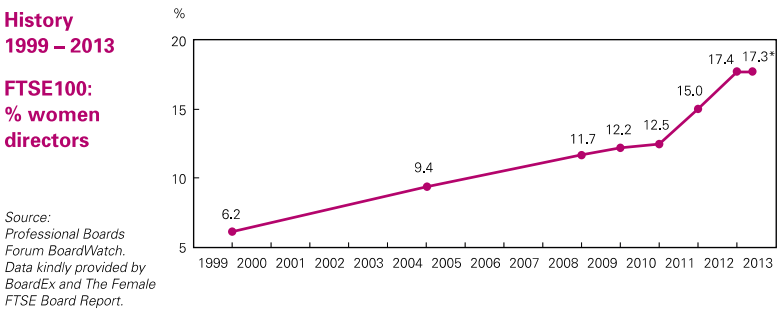
The UK has long been opposed to the enforcement of mandatory quotas in order to achieve an improvement to the representation of women on Boards. As such, amid fears of EU-level regulation, the UK has recently made an effort to demonstrate that no such legal intervention is needed. As such, corporate governance code provisions were adopted in 2010, and subsequently expanded in 2012, requiring listed companies to disclose their progress against current and future objectives and policies on Boardroom diversity.

Furthermore, in response to an effective plateau in the new appointments of women directors between 2008 and 2010, the UK Government, in 2011, published an independent enquiry into women on Boards, the "Lord Davies Report." The report revealed "in 2010 women made up only 12.5% of the members of the corporate boards of FTSE 100 companies. This was up from 9.4% in 2004. But the rate of increase is too slow," concluding that "at the current rate of change, it will take over 70 years to achieve gender-balanced boardrooms in the UK."

The 2011 report proposed 10 recommendations for government and business in achieving urgent change in the proportion of women representing corporate boards, with the key notable recommendation being that the FTSE 100 Boards should aim for a minimum 25% female representation on their boards by 2015. The following year, the "Cranfield School of Management's Female FTSE report 2012" disclosed the progress made since previous year's recommendations: "Overall the percentage of board directors who are female is 15%, an uplift of 2.5% on what was a three year plateau" (Sealy & Vinnicombe, 2012). Lord Davies (2012) published the first annual progress report in parallel with the Cranfield Report, where he celebrated the start of "a culture change taking place right at the very heart of British business in relation to how women are seen within the workforce. […] However, I must also emphasize that efforts need to be ramped up and the speed of change accelerated if we're to avoid Government interference. […] We were always clear that 25% is the minimum starting point, not the ultimate goal."

Lord Davies' progress report in 2013 expressed concern that after a short period of growth in 2011 and 2012, the last six months actually saw a decrease from 17.7% to 17.3% (Graph 7), signaling that the momentum appears to be slowing, as well as the fact there has been much less progress in executive appointments at the top.

GRAPH 7: Percentage of Women on the Board of Directors (UK)



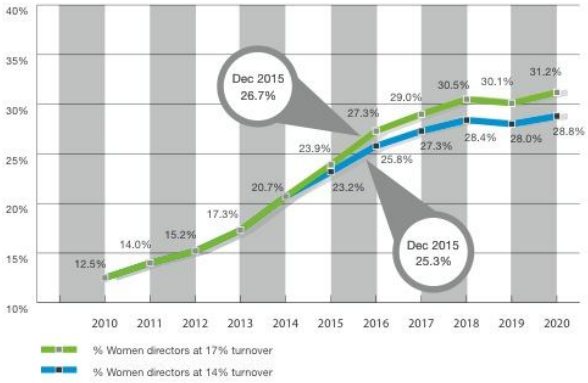
Source: Women on Boards (Progress Report), April 2013

Business Secretary Vince Cable summarized the consequences of such complacency settling in: "Government continues to believe that a voluntary led approach is the best way forward. But today's report also serves as a timely reminder to business that quotas are still a real possibility if we do not meet the 25% target of women on boards of FTSE 100 companies by 2015."

The 2013 parallel publication of the "Cranfield School of Management's Female FTSE report 2013" reiterated this warning: "At Cranfield we have stood steadfast against quotas on the basis that Chairmen must understand the benefits of gender diversity and commit to achieving it. Undoubtedly a number of Chairmen do get it and see a gender balanced board as the 'new normal.' Unfortunately too many Chairmen choose to ignore the issue in the false hope that it will go away. Viviane Reding's demanding legislation is on its way and it goes far beyond Lord Davies' recommendations. It is becoming a matter of urgency for those companies that do not have a gender balanced board to let go of their board stereotypes and appoint more creatively" (Sealy & Vinnicombe, 2012).

It was good news in Lord Davies' 2014 Annual Report, showing that in 2014 the UK recovered from previous underperformance and are getting closer to achieving the 25% target set for 2015, with women now making up 20.7% of FTSE 100 Boards (Graph 8). If the momentum experienced between March 2013 and March 2014 continues at the same rate, the 25% target will be met or exceeded. However, if there is any slowing of the current rate of progress, the 2015 target will be missed. The Davies' Report concedes that, while they are "confident that with sustained and continued action we will meet our targets, […] we also are aware that failure to achieve our voluntary targets would again raise the prospect of compulsory measures being enacted by Government or from the European Union."

GRAPH 8: Predicted trajectories of Women on FTSE 100 Boards (UK)



Source: The Female FTSE Board Report 2014, April

The world's eyes are indeed on the UK to see whether or not a voluntary approach, rather than regulation, is enough of an incentive for companies to realize that women make a positive difference to board effectiveness.

2.3.1.6. Germany concedes to legislative intervention in the form of quotas

Germany, who has long been a proponent of quotas, had relied on Corporate Governance codes established in 2001, encouraging companies to set voluntary targets. However, the percentage of women on corporate boards increased by no more than 3% in Germany from October 2010 to January 2012 (Paul Hastings, 2013). As such, Chancellor Merkel acknowledged that these voluntary targets were not working adequately, and the need for a stronger legislative intervention, in the form of a 30% mandatory quota would be implemented in 2016.

3.1.1. Arguments against the implementation of Quotas

"The risk of replacing a competent person with someone who is less competent" is an argument that is often heard! However, if using the same methods and criteria as used for the recruitment of male Board members, this argument of a risk of lowering the competence level, and in turn a decrease in the value of the Board, seems specious and unfounded. Quotas are also seen as likely to cause problems for those that they benefit: these people become stigmatized, considered as only being in their position due to the fact that they have certain characteristic that gave them a privilege, in this instance: the female gender. Finally, quotas are sometimes presented as unattainable in view of the small number of people with the required characteristics and skills (Stone, Cornet & Cusumano, 2012). Although the debate remains contentious in Europe, since the European Commission's proposal, more and more people, including Directors, are eventually considering quotas as being a "necessary evil." In response to the question whether quotas are of utmost importance in the gender equality on Boards debate, 70% of the women who responded in our study stated, "Yes" (Table 3).

TABLE 3

QUESTION : ARE QUOTAS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE ?
((is a legal 'boost' necessary, or do good business practices suffice)

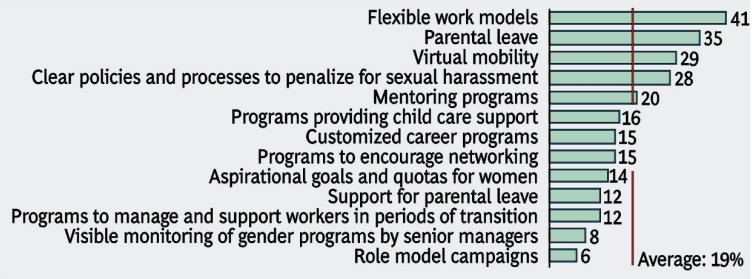
ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
TOTAL 49	29	12	8
FRANCE 26	19	4	3
ABROAD 23	10	8	5

Source: Study "Women and Power", Viviane de Beaufort, October 2012

3.1.2. Other measures to promote Gender Diversity

There have been various measures to promote Gender Diversity proposed, the success of which were referenced by a BCG Study (2011), as shown in Graph 9:

GRAPH 9: Percentage of companies that have put in place measure to promote Gender Diversity



Source: BCG Perspectives, Hard-Wiring Diversity into Your Business, 2011

Of these potential measures, it appears that the member states of the European Union have adopted a range of different measures (Table 4).

TABLE 4: The Adoption of Gender Diversity measures, by European country

Measures to promote gender diversity	Percentage of companies implementing each measure	Europe	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Russia	Spain
		Ranking of the diversity measures by frequency of adoption							
1 Flexible work models	41%	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	
2 Parental leave	35%	2	4	1	3	2	1	2	
3 Virtual mobility	29%	3	1	4	4	4	2	4	
4 Clear policies and processes to penalize for sexual harassment	28%	4	3			3		3	
5 Mentoring programs	20%	5		5			4		

Source: BCG Perspectives, Hard-Wiring Diversity into Your Business, 2011

3.1.3. Transparency as a tool for development

Listed companies are now required to include a statement on Corporate Governance in their annual report. Adding a section on "Diversity" would contribute to the transparency of the subject and would create a means of comparison (a benchmark). As shown by the company case studies analyzed by the Austrian Institute for SME Research, the information that should, at a minimum, be included consists of:

• Detailed and diverse statistics
• The progress of short-and medium-term objectives
• Tools to be implemented, such scorecards

3.1.4. Supporting Women

Women may face problems of legitimacy in the dominant male model. Mentoring and targeted training with coaching on traits, as proposed by the first program in France dedicated to women on this topic (inspired by the Canadian model), "Women, Be European Board Ready" will assist women in acquiring the "skills & traits" necessary.

4. Leadership Styles: A Women's Search for a Power "to Act," rather than a Power "for Its Own Sake"

Research in management identifies the tendency of male norms leading to a quest for *power for power's sake* – the power "to be," as opposed to the *feminine* power model "to do" or "to act," where power is exercised in the public interest, generally in a more collective way, with a strong sense of personal responsibility vis-à-vis others. The recent empirical evidence analyzed in McKinsey & Company's Women Matter 2013 report reaffirms the fact that the prevailing leadership styles do not help women find their way to the top, citing a top executive respondent as acknowledging that "Women have a different style than men when it comes to management, networking, and so forth. Men tend to promote men whose style they understand."

In *Et si les Femmes réinventaient le travail (And if women reinvent the working world)*, Cristina Lunghi (2001) affirms that one must not believe that women do not appreciate power, but that they see it as a means to get things done, rather than for its external show, or just to possess it. The interviewees of the study tended to concur with this belief:

• "It seems to me that women who have power are anxious to do something with it ... When we accept a role, it is first to do something more than to be something," Arlette Chabot (interviewed in Sarfati & Gattegno, 2007).
• "I never sought out power in order to be powerful. I believe in a different form of power: to do something for yourself and for others," Laurence Parisot (interviewed in Sarfati & Gattegno, 2007).
• "[Women are] less *tactless*, more preoccupied by the power to achieve results," S. Paix.
• "POWER: this notion is very different for men and women. The attributes of power for men are status, the signing power, and formal prerogatives. Women give precedence to freedom of action, decision power, and the ability to get things done," S. Ouziel.

4.1. A career motivated by the desire to do good

In the interviews, the great majority of women interviewed actually state that they do not build their career in connection with an aspiration to power. Rather than an elaborate strategy, women do not deliberately plan their rise to the ranks of powerful positions (Table 5).

TABLE 5

QUESTION : DO WOMEN DELIBERATELY PLAN THEIR RISE TO THE RANKS OF POWERFUL POSITIONS?

ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
TOTAL 49	9	29	11
FRANCE 26	4	15	16
ABROAD 23	5	14	4

Source: Study "Women and Power", Viviane de Beaufort, October 2012.

Rather, the women interviewed found themselves in a position of power based on chance, opportunities, and choices that are always in connection with the interest of the mission and the job:

• "No career plans, because it is an impediment to freedom," D. Ernotte-Cunci.
• "I have let things come all along my path. I let my instinct and my desires guide me, I have always endeavored to have fun in my successive positions," S. Paix.
• "The enterprise… should, in a country such as ours, regain its [letters of] nobility. I wanted to participate in the work of (re)construction," S. Lochmann.
• "I plan to influence the role of the company in its social and economic environment," N. Balla.
• "Is there something close to my heart? Evolving business models, contributing to thinking differently," D. Elyaacoubi.
• "[I want] to shake things up, to advance a dynamic and innovative conceptions of the general interest," A. Bricard.

In other words, it appears that women will seek positions of power and/or mandates on Boards with a strong desire to "make things happen." As Rafik Smati surmised, this female "desire" to change things for the better is in stark contrast with masculine interpretation of power as a conquest: "The conquest is fundamentally a masculine drive. Men have developed a system of values consistent with their own behavior, a model that is based upon the conquest: before exercising power, we must be able to conquer it. Our system still glorifies the desire for conquest, which has forced women to fight men on the register of the conquest, which is against nature" (Bramly, Carminati-Rabasse et al., 2012).

4.2. The search of a power exercised collectively

The warlike conquest and solitary exercise of vertical power does not appear to be a suitable model for women, who desire a more collective decision-making forum:

- "Power isolates, which is what I hate about it … I only function well when surrounded by others," S. Paix.
- "When we are at the top, we are alone," D. Reiniche (Gilbert, 2012).
- "It is important to take into account all dimensions of power, including the more dramatic aspects: understand that all your actions and words are signals. Power makes you lose some of your freedom and demands high standards," Francine Weber (interviewed in Rocoplan & Vanbremeersch, 2011).
- "Of course power isolates, but less for women than for men as they are less carried away by power games," I. de Kerviler.
- "Power isolates, because the perceptions of others change. Learning to surround yourself with others is critical. I think women do this more spontaneously, and are therefore less likely to feel isolated," V. Rocoplan.
- "Nothing is more foreign to me that the "phenomenon of court." Instead, I take note of a lot of opinions from various sources, I try to "harness" my goal of always uniting opinions," A. Bricard.

These feelings of isolation of power suggest that women are more prone to stewardship-driven management styles, which emphasizes a collaborative approach, rather than an agency-driven approach.

4.3. The fear, hatred of, or simply a disinterest in power games

The majority of interviewees in this study mentioned some discomfort in the face of conflict, feeling that it is unnecessary and that there are better ways of going about resolving problems. In this way, women naturally seek mediation rather than confrontation, but they do not hesitate to assert their position (or opposition) if they feel that there is a breach of their values. They are therefore particularly courageous and committed to their causes, once again suggesting that they are more comfortable with stewardship-driven management styles, commenting that:

- "When it comes to a power struggle, I try to understand the positions of others, I state mine, I try to take on the concerns of the opposing positions in the interest of the company ... I do enter into opposition," N. Balla.
- "I feel that it is my right and duty to always give my opinion," Anonymous.
- "I have already objected to a decision and I've noted that courage is more prevalent in women on this point: to have the ability to challenge and confront the point of view of the majority of the company," B. Dalibard.
- "Women are not afraid, they say things clearly. If a woman does not want to enter into open conflict, her resistance may be leaving the Board," Anonymous.

• “I do not try to avoid battles... I have been known to strongly express disagreement when decisions went against my values. In such cases... I try... to use argument, to convince, and to find allies,” A. Bricard.
• “Women are ready to defend their position if a disagreement arises,” S. Ouziel.
• “Power only isolates according to the way you exercise it. If you are too far removed from employees, then it isolates and you’re out of the game. However, the exercise of power can be a great source of collective energy,” N. Mesny.

4.4. A systematic reliance on skills (for reassurance) and the duty towards a special responsibility for women

4.4.1. The importance of expertise

All of the interviewees cited skills as a priority for success; the eternal female “imposers” justify their position and their career progression by hard work and competence:

• “A woman’s professional background and expertise is very important in gaining a legitimacy that does not only depend on quotas. Women are very much judged on achievements and ‘accomplishments,’ where as men have the privilege to sometime be judged on their potential. Women do not have the right to make mistakes, so we need to arrive well prepared for Boards,” B. Dalibard.
• “I’ve always be selected based on my competences,” Anonymous.
• “Skills and degrees help a woman in her quest for success,” D. Elyaacoubi.
• “Women are often more advanced in the knowledge of their accounts ... they need to be completely factual if they are to convince others,” D. Ernotte-Cunci.
• “It is important that they have the professional experience and that they are legitimate,” A.-S. Fauvet.
• “Academic ‘training’ is not enough: women must be legitimate in their function and sector across different regions. The professional background is therefore important, though women are often disadvantages compared to men in terms of the quantity and depth of professional experience expected,” C. Lewiner.
• “A woman must have a strong professional legitimacy (a professional career), to enter a Board. Otherwise, she will be discredited!,” P. Sourisse.
• “The hardest part for me was being a quota. When one is a female quota, it means that we are illegitimate, and so must prove ourselves twice as much as others that you are a legitimate Board member,” S. Auconie.

4.4.2. The sisterhood?

Notwithstanding the famous Queen Bee complex, which probably still persists in some sectors where women are scarce:

• “A woman that is already on a Board can have an ambiguous position with respect to the arrival of other women: on the one hand it can be said she will be ‘less alone,’ even if at the same time it reduces her difference and originality,” M. Dubouloy. “It would seem that...among the women having acceded to positions of

power, almost all women now feel a collective responsibility: when they can, they act on behalf of women," Anne Cécile Sarfati and Hervé Gattegno (2007).
• "The female pioneers, according to their own admissions, have for a long time worked alone. Being the first allowed them to get all the attention and limelight. According to witness accounts, many have fully savored this period of grace until they got bored with meetings attended mainly by male homologues. They have then turned their attention to the younger generation, to help them progress in their careers", E. Gagliardi.
• "We need all the women who have power or influence ... to assume this special responsibility: women who run very large corporations, what are they doing towards ensuring that there is parity on their Boards?," Elizabeth Guigou (interviewed in Sarfati & Gattegno, 2007).
• "I see myself more as an influential woman, a woman providing openings, than as a woman in power. In any case, as someone who tries to move the demarcation lines, to jostle rigidities, to overcome preconceived ideas," Véronique Morali (interviewed in Sarfati & Gattegno, 2007).
• "Is there any solidarity among women? I try to build it but it is not systematic and I do not want to give a sense of ostracism based on gender!," S. Lochmann.
• "Is there solitude? Yes, absolutely. I am the 2nd woman on the Executive Committee with Christine Albanel and we have developed the habit of sitting side by side. When I am at the office, on the ground, a natural solidarity occurs with the female Heads," D. Ernotte-Cunci.
• "In all of my actions I favor the respect of parity between women and men," A. Bricard.

5. What Potential Changes to Corporate Governance Are Essential?

5.1. Sustainable Governance for Boards

5.1.1. Exercise of power or sense of responsibility

It is striking that all the women interviewed for this study shared an acute sense of responsibility. It is a trait that is characteristically and recurrently mentioned by the interviewees, regardless of their geographical origin: "an understanding of the business, alertness and vigilance, in order to try to identify potential risks and make strategic choices to verify that the future of the group is more or less assured, to ensure the coherence of everything" (Gilbert, 2012).

Power "to do" creates a special responsibility: a pattern that emerged in the interviews conducted for this study as a commitment to leading change for the public interest:

• "Women testify to having jeopardized their own career to do what they felt was their duty, preferring the correctness of the action over manipulation, which has

ensured them a future! In this way, powerful women feel totally responsible for their actions, for better or for worse," E. Gagliardi.
• "Courage and power are linked. To exercise power, it takes a lot of managerial courage. Decisions are sometimes difficult to make," N. Balla.
• "I listen to the arguments of my team, and I take particular notice of external advice that I seek, but when it comes to making a decision, I take responsibility without hesitation, fear, or remorse," A. Bricard.
• "I very much like the status of English Director. Before joining a Board, according the English law, one must sign a paper that says you engage your personal responsibility in your role as Non-Executive Director," Anonymous.
• "Courage is the key function of a manager. What matters first and foremost is courage; it's a value that earns one respect. It is courage that makes you want to follow someone or not," S. Paix.
• "Women are more aware of their responsibility even if courage is not always rewarded," I. de Kerviller.
• "My role and mission are driven by a strong conviction that nothing is more exciting (but also more difficult) than to flush sterile habits and replace them with new behaviors that create value and/or greater goodness," A. Bricard.

5.1.2. Respect for rules and ethics

It is evident that women have a meaningful commitment to standards. In all the interviews for this study, rules are valued, the respect for rules above all (refer to Table 6). The rules and the ethical framework are clearly identified as a means of protection against the arbitrary abuse of power of all kinds. The principles of good governance (public or private) are a bulwark against ethical deviance. Even the quota laws, sometimes difficult to accept because women wanted "to get there without them," have been clearly identified as a creator of legitimacy.

Women are often attached to processes, mainly due to the protection against arbitrariness and personal appropriation of power, yet it is mainly the expectation of ethics and morality that is embraced by the women interviewed. Generally speaking, the women interviewed for this study regarded compliance, regardless of the nature of the rules, as a guarantee of good governance (see specific analysis on "Role and functioning of Boards"):

• "Rules provide structure, facilitate relationships, and set limits. Women have the impression that rules are constantly broken by an informal logic of 'power over' and not 'power for'. They have long suffered from this feeling, and that probably explains, in part, why they are more interested in putting more rules in place. The rules allow for formalism and transparency," M. Dubouloy.
• "Ethics and the law are two constraints on the exercise of power that I am subjected to. Another dimension that stands out for me lies in the general interest and the balance of powers at the heart of the Board... The rules at the heart of the company are essential and necessary for proper functioning, for transparency, for longevity," S. Lochmann.

• “Rules are necessary guidelines in all aspects of community life. We need them in order to determine the fields of individual autonomy. So this is an area of freedom that allows the use of individual intelligence. It is important to define rules, and to communicate them. They must evolve over time: they are not set in stone,” N. Mesny.
• “Rules are essential. I am particularly attached to implicit rules such as honesty and loyalty,” A. Arcier.
• “The role of rules in a company is essential. Without precise rules, an organization does not have the visibility and security that individuals require in order to adhere to (and progress towards) common goals. I am very attached to those rules related to equality, justice and generosity in the sharing of results,” A. Bricard.
• “The main challenge of a manager (and team) is to measure their decisions in terms of ethical criteria,” S. Paix.

TABLE 6

QUESTION : DO WOMEN FEEL PARTICULARLY ATTACHED TO RULES AND ETHICAL CONDUCT ?

(Sense of fairness, morality, sense of protection for rules that protect against unfairness or arbitrary decision-making)

ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
TOTAL 49	39	2	8
FRANCE 26	24	2	0
ABROAD 23	15	0	8

Source: Study “Women and Power”, Viviane de Beaufort, October 2012.

5.1.3. A responsibility to change the way Boards function

The majority of women who spoke in this study emphasized the need to change certain practices in the way that Boards function, including:

• Change aspects of governance: the current approach is too financial, not operational enough.
• A systematic lack on the Board’s Agenda: Human Resources policies and aspects (including succession planning); technical and technological skills.
• Ensure the sustainability of the business and not just the income of Directors!
• The issue of remuneration is important. It must be gauged against strict and arduous quantifiable performance criteria. It must be justified, as this is important for social cohesion.

The advice must be assessed more frequently, with longer and more in-depths reviews, in order to improve the functioning of the Boards. The magnitude of the current crisis relates back to core values: quality of management, composition and functioning of Boards, and “increased role of the pilot operating the aircraft.”

The underlying message of the women interviewed was a stark acknowledgement that the power afforded by leadership position commands a special responsibility, notably with respect to leading change (refer to Table 7).

• "I just joined the Board of 'Lagardère,' my project behind this commitment is to be useful, to make a contribution to the task of bringing change. Women have the appetite for societal issues (CSR, sustainable development, NGOs, civil society, gender equality...)," H. Molinari.

TABLE 7

QUESTION : DOES POWER CREATE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY, NOTABLY WITH RESPECT TO LEADING CHANGE? IS COURAGE REQUIRED IN EXERCISING THIS POSITION OF POWER?
(Power to do something, accountability, commitment to the public interest, courage to decide)

ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
TOTAL 49	42	0	6
FRANCE 26	22	0	4
ABROAD 23	20	0	3

Source: Study "Women and Power", Viviane de Beaufort, October 2012.

5.2. An idealized vision of a Directorship

The independence of a Board member, a key requirement prescribed by all Governance Codes,[6] clashes with the manager's desire for power. Yet, within Boards, it has been confirmed that Female members are diligent and competent in preparing meetings and asking questions, and will often oppose behavior that they consider non-ethical (Woolley, Chabris, Pentland, Hashmi and Malone, 2010). In summary, women have the courage to seek to influence, in order to improve the functioning and decision-making of the board. The interviewees of this study, when asked what Non-Executive Directors are "supposed" to do, stated that they should be able to "integrate the long-term vision," and "participate in the construction of a decent and ethical company, in the eyes of the public." As such, these so-called "fresh eyes" are motivated by their idealized conception of Boards. However, these women may have problems positioning themselves, since their behavior disturbs the status quo. These women will have to choose whether to resist, or conform to the current "power model." Evidence has suggested that there is a high risk of women conforming to the current model, which would mean that this idealized vision of a Directorship does not transpire. It is, therefore, crucial that women be encouraged to resist the current model, paving the way for a better, improved version of a Directorship.

5.3. A Need for Diversity

5.3.1. Diversity and *"added value"*

Diversity on boards has been widely proven in the literature to make good economic and business sense. Catalyst (2004, 2007) has shown that Fortune 500 companies with a higher proportion of women in the Boardroom are generally more profitable. McKinsey & Company have consistently shown in their Women Matter Reports (2007–2013) that companies with higher ratios of women on Boards typically exhibited higher operating margins, higher return on equity, higher stock-price growth, and higher valuations. A recent French study using data from the 2008 Global Financial crisis demonstrated that, during the crisis, companies with at least 35% women on the management team performed significantly better (Ferrary, 2013).

The interviewees of the study only confirm what has been shown in the literature: a mixed-gender board improves Corporate Performance:

- "It is best when Directors are very different. It is the range of combined skills and diversity of profiles that create the wealth of a Board of Directors," I. Seillier.
- "The challenge is to transform the Boards, so that they are: more diverse, more feminine, more international, younger, and that the profiles of the members compliment each other," H. Molinari.
- "Companies must be able to further diversify and internationalize their Board of Directors by consequently integrating women," S. Lochmann.
- "We must ensure that a Board of Directors is composed of different personalities in order to create a coherent whole that functions at its best. It is the result of the juxtaposition of temperaments and personalities that create a good Board," Anonymous.

5.3.2. "Feminine" qualities brought to the "Director's table" may change the game.

Women who have recently been nominated for Directorships often bring fresh eyes, with an impartial perception of past decisions and actions. As demonstrated in Table 8, an overwhelming majority of the women interviewed for this study freely evoked feminine characteristics that they consider to be qualities: listening and empathy, emotional intelligence, intellectual honesty (ability to recognize mistakes of judgment).

TABLE 8

QUESTION : DO WOMEN HAVE PARTICULAR/SPECIFIC QUALITIES OR ATTRIBUTES?

ANSWER	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
TOTAL 49	**36**	**7**	**6**
FRANCE 26	**18**	**6**	**2**
ABROAD 23	**18**	**1**	**4**

Source: Study "Women and Power", Viviane de Beaufort, October 2012.

These are some of the attributes that women bring that make a difference to board effectiveness, as listed by the interviewees of the duty:

N. Ball: Greater ability to listen, capability to more completely analyze subjects, and a middle of the road perspective.
B. Dalibard: A perception of the concrete, motivated by a common interest, daring enough to ask questions (of HR specifically), good at keeping their ego out of the way.
D. Elyaacoubi: More intuitive.
D. Ernotte-Cunci: More collective, using less unverifiable assertions, more courageous, more able to think freely.
S. Ouziel: Less of a political reflex. Women do things for the company and not for appearances. Women have a real concern about making things move forward, they are less into politics and their personal positioning. They bring more objectivity and sense of the practical. Women are idealists and impassioned...Women are less dogmatic.
A. Arcier: Capable of cooperation and compromise, better ability to anticipate by listening and intuition, better sense of the concrete.
A. Bricard: Women have by necessity a better ability to listen since our social culture has taught them to "listen" to the man (the father, the husband, the son). They have a greater capability to challenge their perceptions as they have a less-developed ego. And finally, since they place the general interest above their own, they are less career-oriented, less calculating, they don't hesitate to tell the truth even if it may be upsetting.
M.-C. Oghly[7]**:** It is necessary to bring some diversity to Boards. Independent Directors bring meaning, a broader vision, more objectivity, and complementary expertise. Women are very sensitive to many ethical considerations and their sense of teamwork facilitates the operation of a Board as a 'team.' Diversity is the guarantor of new ideas. Female Company managers, though the responsibilities exercised within their own business, can bring added value: they know about the functioning of Boards, have knowledge of the market, knowledge of international considerations, and/or technical knowledge. They are also used to developing and discussing strategies, they do not hesitate to contribute their vision.

The challenge is, therefore, to resist the peer pressure of the dominant model in order to preserve and further develop the unique attributes.

6. The "Added Value" of a Mixed Leadership Model

The normalization of women in positions of power, the current evolution in our society with the incursion of diversity, as well as the development of new models, are changing the game. The personal motivation of women and the feminine "way of thinking" seem to be, rather than a handicap, better adapted to the more flexible management model required by current evolutions: the engine of power gives way to responsibility, and leading by example takes the baton from speech. A more emotional way of thinking is more in step with a humanist leadership approach, which integrates rationality and intuition, and measured taking of risks. The ideal manager of either gender must henceforth be able to blend the male skills (charisma, leadership, impartiality, decision making capability...) with the female (rationality, empathy, listening, organization, knowledge...):

• "Men and women are different – equally intelligent but we behave differently and are motivated by different things. […] Balanced teams perform better, and gives companies specific actionable ideas to improve their management of all talent – regardless of gender," Helena Morrissey (interviewed by Rankin, 2013).
• "In more advanced companies, the moment is approaching where men and women working together will open new trajectories and a different creation of values," Marie Boy (interviewed in Gilbert, 2012).
• "Instead of forcing women to adopt male behavior in order to accede to power, why not encourage men to develop more feminine types of behavior? This time is no longer for dueling, but rather for duality," Rafik Smati (Bramly, Carminati-Rabasse et al., 2012).
• "To achieve good things you need people with different opinions, having different experiences, and minds but sharing the same goal – without diversity, you only reach incremental goods," BengtJarrehult.[8]

6.1. The shift towards collectiveness; a shift which is embraced by women

Ways of decision-making are becoming more transverse and collective, and women seem particularly comfortable with these changes:

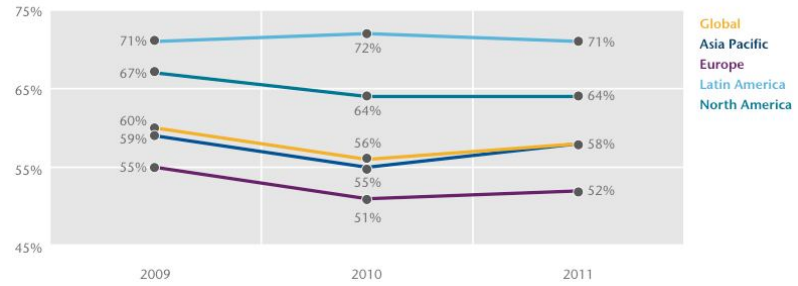
• "A woman sometimes has a greater capacity to surround herself with a team that will be able to talk to her, to tell her what is really going on; decisions made by women are sometimes more collegiate. [….] Men sometimes have the feeling that only authoritarian models can work in management. My philosophy is that I'm not here to yell at people," D. Ernotte-Cunci.
• Power isolates only "if it is wielded with authority. It is important to exercise power with an approach of 'soft influence:' constantly confront the ideas of others, put yourself at the same level as the others. It should be free speech. Everyone is an actor of the project. Thus the power is stronger, visible, effective ... There are still too many conservative attitudes... There is an obvious complementarity between men and women, allowing them to produce more profound changes, gently," H. Molinari.

• "A certain conformism prevails within Boards. Being the voice of innovation is more or less well perceived. We must empower Boards and succeed in creating a real dynamic within Boards. In general, the corporate world encourages conformism rather than courage. The search for greater diversity must come down to a concern for greater business and economic efficiency, and not a simple conformism," S. Ouziel.

6.2. A mixed leadership style (one that incorporates and embraces "female" qualities) as a solution to limiting the employee disengagement trend

The latest research by Aon Hewitt, the global leader in Human Resource solutions, shows that in 2011, only 52% of employees in Europe, and 58% globally, are engaged[9] by their work (Graph 10). According to Aon Hewitt (2012), "striving to maintain a higher level of employee engagement is a key factor for longer-term business performance and better positioning when market conditions become favorable." Against the current economic backdrop and the fact that recruiting costs run at approximately 1.5 times annual salary (MSW Research and Dale Carnegie Training, 2012), it is apparent that it has become more important than ever for employers to develop and maintain highly engaged employees.

GRAPH 10: Global Engagement Trends



Source: "Trends in Global Employee Engagement," AON Hewitt, 2012.

Forbes looked at "what qualities are more useful in fostering engaged, productive employees… in building positive manager-employee relationships?" The author, Victor Lipman (2013), concedes that "almost without exception the most effective managers and executives I knew (in addition of course to possessing technical proficiency) shared five – for lack of a better term – *softer* characteristics" including:

• Being a good listener;
• Showing perception to the more subtle issues and motivations of other employees;
• Good and open communicators who are approachable and available;
• Having a calm demeanor.
• Having a general concern for the well being of the colleagues, and who can be trusted to keep their word.

Women tend to act more like a coach than an individual player, being more concerned with the glory of the team over personal goal scoring. Furthermore, women are more inclined have better-developed "soft" skills from the characteristics list cited, including relational and emotional intelligence, holistic perspective, inclusion, empathy and intuition, as outlined in this article. These skills are the skills required in facilitating a superior sensitivity to issues that can create low job satisfaction, and ultimately help to reverse the trend of high employee disengagement.

7. Conclusion

A considerable push towards increased gender diversity on Boards will have significant "added value" effects and positive economic implications. As such, gender diversification on Boards should be treated simply as a matter of good governance. However, the challenge remains for companies to appreciate that this diversity must be met with a sense of inclusiveness, so that an increase in the representation of women on Boards will confront the existing paradigm, as women endeavor to propose a new model that will satisfy their understanding of good governance. As the UK Minister for Women and Equalities, Maria Miller highlights, "The workplace was designed by men for men. Women don't need special treatment, they just need a modernized workplace that gives them a level playing field" (Rothery, 2014). This *level playing field* will naturally lend itself towards the evolution of a mixed leadership style. And this new model, one that integrates both masculine and feminine "polarities," may indeed be the key in reversing the costly trend of high employee disengagement, one of the most substantial challenges currently faced in the governance of companies, organizations and governments.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the recent improvements to the UK Corporate Governance Code with respect to improving Gender Diversity on Boards, refer to section on "The recent efforts of the United Kingdom encouraging the market to regulate the problem."

2. For a discussion of the initiatives of the European Union with respect to improving Gender Diversity on Boards, refer to section on "The European Commission's commitment to gender equality on Boards."

3. Sheryl Sandberg is the COO of Facebook, and the author of the book *Lean In* (2013). She made this statement during her speech at the Stanford Clayman Institute for Gender Research in April, 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f9-d_FRjwYM

4. As part of the qualitative research an academic study on Gender Diversity in the Corporate World, 49 executive women from around the globe provided interviews that were very detailed in content. The sections of the interviews that specifically and narrowly corresponded to women and their interaction with power were examined to form the qualitative analysis for the study on "Women and Power:" De Beaufort, V. "Women and Power: Taboo, or New Corporate Governance Model?," ESSEC and Boyden (joint publication), September 2012.

The complete in-extenso version of those interviews has been published alongside the "Women and Power" study, electronic copies of which can be found at: https://sites.google.com/a/essec.edu/viviane-de-beaufort/engagement-women/leadership-au-feminin

However, it was always intended (and clearly stated in the original publication "Women and Power") that these interviews would be subsequently analyzed under the Corporate Governance microscope, in order to highlight the fact that current and potential female candidates share a rigorous vision of the functioning of Boards and therefore demand a new model of governance.

As such, the content that was exploited and cited in this article are *not* the same as those used to support the conclusions made in the previous article.

This article, as the title "Women on Boards: Sharing a Rigorous Vision of the Function of Boards, Demanding a New Model of Corporate Governance" suggests, is an analysis of the relevant comments made by the interviewees with respect to specific questions of corporate governance and the functioning of Boards.

Interviewed women that are cited in this article include:

• Isla Ramos Chavez, Executive Director of Europe, Middle East & Africa Business Transformation at *Lenovo.*

• Stéphanie Paix, President of the Board of *la Caisse d'Epargne Rhône-Alpes (Groupe BPCE).* Board Member of *Natixis* and of *Crédit Foncier de France.*

• Sylvie Ouziel, CEO of *Allianz, Managed Operations & Services SE (AMOS SE).*

• Delphine Ernotte-Cunci, Deputy CEO of *France Telecom-Orange*, Senior Executive Vice President of *Orange France*, Board Member of *Suez Environnement*.

• Sabine Lochmann, General Manager of Strategic and Governmental Affairs at *Johnson & Johnson Medical Company*, President of the association '*Avenir Femmes Sante'*.

• Natalie Balla, CEO of *La Redoute* (Groupe Redcats).

• Diaa Elyaacoubi, CEO of *Streamcore System France*. Board Member of *Ingenico France.* Agnès Bricard, Founder and President of the Accounting Firm *Bricard, Lacroix & Associés*, President of French Public Accountants' professional organization, Vice-President of '*Club Action de Femmes.'*

• Emmanuelle Gagliardi, Associate Director of *Connecting Women*, Director of the magazine *L/ONTOP.*

• Isabelle de Kerviler, Partner at *Cailliau Dedouit and Associates*, Financial Expert for The Court of Cassation (The Highest Court in France), Counselor for Paris (1983–2001), Member of the 'Economic, Social and Environmental Council' of France (CESE), Vice-President of the 'Economic Activities' department.

• Valérie Rocoplan, Founder and Director of *Talentis* (Executive Management Coaching International).
• Barbara Dalibard, Managing Director of *SNCF Voyages*. Board Member of *Wolters Kluwer NV, Compagnie Générale des Établissements Michelin SCA, Globe Cast Holding SA, et Michelin SA.*
• Nathalie Mesny, Managing Director of *Oxybul Eveil & Jeux*.
• Anne-Sophie Fauvet Mulliez, Board Member of *Pimkie*. Member of the Decathlon Foundation, Member of the Managing Committee of AFM.
• Colette Lewiner, Chairwomen of TDF, Energy Advisor to Capgemini. Board Member of Bouygues, Colas, Eurotunnel, Lafarge, Nexans, and TGS-Nopec Geophysical Company.
• Pascale Sourisse, Senior Vice-President for the Land and Joint systems division at *Thales Group*. Board Member of *Telecom ParisTech School, Vinci, Renault* and *DCNS*.
• Sophie Auconie, Member of the European Parliament for the French constituency 'Massif-Central-Centre,' Co-founder and Chair of the Association '*Femmes au Centre.'*
• Maryse Dubouloy, Associate Professor in the Management Department at ESSEC Business School, Consultant/Coach at *Réseau Pluridis*. She helped in guiding the development of the Interview Question for the study "Women and Power" by Viviane de Beaufort, and was also interviewed in her capacity as an expert psychoclinician.
• Agnes Arcier, Director of *ADETEF Bercy* (The French international technical assistance agency of the Ministries for the Economy, Budget and Sustainable Development), as well as founder of the French Female Board Members Association *'Administration Moderne.'*
• Hélène Molinari, Deputy Managing Director of the *MEDEF* (Movement of the Enterprises of France, which is the largest union of employers in France). Supervisory board Member of *Lagardère Groupe.*
• Isabelle Seillier, Chairman of *JP Morgan France*. Member of *EMEA Executive Commitee* and *EMEA IB inclusive Leadership Council (Diversity Council)*, Board Member of *Europlace Paris* and of *AFB, Danone* and *Club Méditerranée.*

5. *Women Be European Board Ready-ESSEC* is a high level executive program specifically designed for women, preparing to become a member of a Board, or wishing to improve their contribution in an existing mandate or position. Established in March 2011, this Executive program combines the teachings on the fundamentals of what is modern and sustainable Corporate Governance and specific coaching on the "GENDER" dimension: group coaching, testimonials, support networks, meetings of executive search firms, Collective research for mandates, training in social networking. For video of testimonials from women from the 2nd Session (English translation in the comments section): http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JnE8zEEINO8

6. For example, "The European Commission Recommendation on the role of non-executive or supervisory directors of listed companies and on the committees of the (supervisory) board," Commission Recommendation 2005/162/EC of 15 February 2005 (OJ L 52, 25.2.2005, pp. 51–63). http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:052:0051:0063:EN:PDF

7. Ms Oghly was interviewed especially for this article. She is the President of the *MEDEF, Ile de France* (Movement of the Enterprises of France, which is the largest union of employers in France) and President of the French branch of *Femmes Chefs d'Entreprises (Association of Women Entrepreneurs),* as well as the Vice-President of the global branch *(World Association of Women Entrepreneurs).*

8. Bengt Jarrehult is the 'Director of Innovation' at *SCA AB India* (45000 employees, 60 countries). Quote taken from a LinkedIn forum discussion.

9. Aon Hewitt defines engagement "as the state of emotional and intellectual involvement that motivates employees to do their best work."

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE STUDY

Note to interviewee:
To facilitate the exercise: Numbering 1, 2, 3, 4 of categories = ADM/ Directors/ Politicians/Senior Public Function holders.
As the questionnaire is long it can be flexible in its use, according to the degree of relevance of the questions to the profile of the interviewee; the questions dimmed are the most important.

About you

What do you consider to be the major milestones in your career?
What drives you (what has driven you) to want to be a Non-Executive Director (become a Director, enter politics, have a career in the civil service…)? Do you have (have you ever had) a particular plan/goal, one which you hold (held) close to your heart?

Women on Boards

Which elements favour (facilitate) the entrance of a woman into a Board? (1)
A. What role does the law play in the quotas for women in Boards?
B. How much influence does the professional background/ expertise /participation in an Executive Committee have?
C. Are there any external factors which have helped (quotas in politics?) ?
D. What are the obstacles?
E. To what extent have your skills, expertise, background, academic qualifications helped? (2, 3, 4)

The role of Women on Boards

What do you believe is the role of a Non-Executive Director ?
(The idea is to obtain an explanation of the different roles, and prompt if some are "forgotten." The goal is to obtain a general response, before going into detail. Goal is to ascertain views on the relationship between control and vision for the future).
A. Which one is the most important to you? Why?
B. Which one do you enjoy the most?
C. Which is the most difficult? Why?
In general are you more a woman of action or reflection? What are your thoughts on the role of a CEO/Director in relation to action and reflection?

YOUR role on a Board

How do you conceive your role and mission? (2, 3, 4) What is the most difficult?
Are you confronted with short or long-term opposition and how do you deal with this?
Do you consider yourself as the guardian of the sustainability of the company?
Do you think you contribute to change? Are there any changes which you feel more strongly about?
(The objective is to see which level of importance is placed on Corporate Social Responsibility, long-term control, ethics, prompt on these subjects if necessary).
Do you find decision making hard? How do you make your decisions (alone, collectively, advisors)?
Who do you represent if you represent someone?
A. How much autonomy do you have in decision-making?
Do you align consistently with certain individuals or groups on a Board?
(We are exploring the ability to judge and make decisions autonomously in relation to authority and hierarchy). ***(1, 3, 4)***

Particular female qualities

Do you think women have particular qualities?
Generally they reply no but when they talk about the way they do and say things, they point out that women are more this or that (communication, sensitivity to human beings, rejection of open conflict, negotiation, courage, team spirit.…). If yes, what are these qualities?
Do you think the fact that you are a woman has any effect on your role or your stature?
Has the fact of being a woman led you to make certain decisions or choices (including personal or career choices)?

Signification of Terms

What do the following terms mean to you: power/give example from your professional life; authority/give example; politics/give example in-fluence/give example; courage/give example? Are you able to distinguish or find a link between them?
This will facilitate the responses a little to this difficult question. Often they will find it difficult to explain the difference... It is important that they give examples as this helps clarify ideas. Don't force them to want to provide "the right definition." We are more interested in their personal inter-pretations. ***Try to identify implied positive and negative connotations. This is the most important question).***
Do you think power isolates?
A. What is the link between power and responsibility?
B. Which are the limits to power, legal or moral rules, which affect the exercising of power?

Women & Level of importance of aspects

Which means do women (more particularly) have at their disposal to influence the positions of those around them?
What is the importance of the formal and the informal?
The role of being connected/networks? Alliances?

Does complicity/solidarity among women exist?
Is there sometimes competition?
The relation to the Director (Managing Director, President, Party Chief) ?
What importance do rules have in an organization? (1) Within a Board?
Are there any (rules) which you adhere to particularly? Which ones?
Are there any rules which are not respected? Which ones? Why in your opinion? What is your reaction?
What significance does a company's ethical behavior have for you? (1,2)
Where do you stand concerning a conflict of powers?
Do you sometimes have the impression of being in a position of resistance by for example being opposed to a decision or to other members of the Board (1), the Directors (2), the Party (3), your hierarchy (4)? If yes, on which occasions? On which points? What happens in general?
***Power and courage,* what does that evoke?**
Do you think that the current system (broadly speaking) does not sufficiently value courage (dilution of responsibilities)?
A. Being in a position of power (2, 4) or decision making (1, 2, 3), or of making recommendations (1, 4)
B. What would you like to change in the system?

Any other comments?

REFERENCES

AON Hewitt (2012), "Trends in Global Employee Engagement," AON Corporation. http://www.aon.com/attachments/human-capital-consulting/2012_TrendsInGlobal Engagement_Final_v11.pdf

Arcier, A. (2002), "Le quotient féminin de l'entreprise, question de dirigeants," Editions Village mondial.

Bertin-Mourot, B., & Laval, C. (2006), "Repenser l'équilibre hommes/femmes dans la ressource managériale et dirigeante," Les Echos Etudes.

Bramly, S., & Carminati-Rabasse, A. et al. (2012), "Pouvoirs(e)s, les nouveaux équilibres femmes-hommes," Eyrolles, May.

Bournois, F., Duval-Hamel, J., Roussillon, S., Scaringella, J.L., de La Tour d'Artaise, T. et al. (2007), "Comités Exécutifs – Voyage au coeur de la dirigeance," Eyrolles.

Buffett, W. (2013), "Warren Buffett Is Bullish…on Women!," *Fortune Magazine*, 20 May. http://money.cnn.com/2013/05/02/leadership/warren-buffett-women. pr.fortune/index.html

Capitalcom (2012), "7ème BAROMÈTRE ANNUEL CAPITALCOM SUR LA MIXITÉ – De plus en plus d'entreprises s'engagent : la fixation d'objectifs chiffrés a doublé en 5 ans," Press Release, March, http://www.capitalcom.fr/ Documents/Etude%20Femmes%202012.pdf

Capitalcom (2012), "7ème BAROMÈTRE ANNUEL CAPITALCOM SUR LA MIXITÉ DANS LES CONSEILS D'ADMINISTRATION DU CAC 40 – Le lady boom s'essoufflerait-il déjà ?" Press Release, May 2012, http://www. capitalcom.fr/Documents/CP%20Femmes%20AG%202012.pdf

Capitalcom (2013), "8ème BAROMÈTRE ANNUEL CAPITALCOM SUR LA MIXITÉ – D'une affaire de femmes à un enjeu de performance...," Press Release, June. http://www.capitalcom.fr/Documents/CP_8ème%20BARO METRE %20ANNUEL%20CAPITALCOM%20SUR%20LA%20MIXIT_2013.pdf

Catalyst (2004), "The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity."

Catalyst (2007), "The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards."

Catalyst (2013), "Increasing Gender Diversity on Boards: Current Index of Formal Approaches."

Caye, J.-M., Teichmann, C., Strack, R., Haen, P., Bird, S., & Frick, G. (2011), "Hard-Wiring Diversity into Your Business," *BCG Perspectives*.

Charlotte (2012), "Stéréotypes et plafond de verre," Blog *Jeunes Professionnelles*, 17/12, http://jeunesprofessionnelles.com/2012/12/stereotypes-et-plafond-de-verre/

Chevalier, C., & Khadir, S. (2012), "Les stéréotypes sur le genre" IMS-Entreprendre pour la Cité, May.

Curtis, M., Schmid, C., & Struber, M. (2012), "Gender Diversity and Corporate Performance," Credit Suisse AG (Research Institute), August.

Davis, J., Donaldson, L., & Schoorman, F. (1997), "Toward a Stewardship Theory of Management," *Academy of Management Review* 22(1): 20–47.

De Beaufort, V. (2012), "Women and Power: Taboo, or New Corporate Governance Model?," ESSEC, September.

Dugas, L. (2007), "Grandir comme dirigeant," in *Comités Exécutifs – Voyage au Cœur de la dirigeance*, Eyrolles.

Dyrchs, S. and Strack, R. (2012), "Shattering the Glass Ceiling: An Analytical Approach to Advancing Women into Leadership Roles," Boston Consulting Group (BCG), August.

Egon Zehnder Inernational (2012), "Board Diversity: From Problem to Solutions," *The FOCUS magazine*, November.

Enriquez, E., & de Brouwer, D. (1997), "Les jeux du pouvoir et du désir dans l'entreprise" (*Power and Desire Games in the Company)*, Desclée de Brouwer.

Ethics & Boards (2014), "Place des Femmes dans les Conseils d'Administration et de Surveillance", Ethics & Boards Monitor, 5 June. http://www.ethicsandboards.com/etudes/101-place-des-femmes-dans-les-conseils-d-administration-et-de-surveillance-post-ag-2008-2013-1er-juin-2014

Europa (2005), "The European 'COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION on the role of non-executive or supervisory directors of listed companies and on the committees of the (supervisory) board,'" Commission Recommendation 2005/162/EC of 15 February (OJ L 52, 25.2.2005, pp. 51–63). http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:052:0051:0063:EN:PDF

Europa (2009), "Report on equality between men and women," Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. 77 final. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52009DC0077:EN:NOT

Europa (2010), "Strategy for the inequality between women and women – 2010–2015," Communication of the European Commission, 491 final. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52010DC0491:EN:NOT

Europa (2011), "The Gender balance in business leadership," Working document of the European Commission SEC 246 final. http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/publications/2008/ke8108186_fr.pdf

Europa (2014), "Questions and Answers: What has the EU done for women? 50 years of EU action on Gender Equality for One Continent," MEMO of the European Commission – MEMO/14/156, April. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-156_en.htm

Europa (2013), "Cracking Europe's Glass Ceiling: European Parliament backs Commission's Women on Boards proposal," Press Release of the European Commission – IP/13/1118, November. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1118_en.htm

Europa (2014), "Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on improving the gender balance among directors of companies listed on stock exchanges and related measures – Progress Report," Council of the European Union – 2012/0299 (COD), June. http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST%209864%202014%20REV%201

Ferrary, M. (2013), "Femina Index: Betting on Gender Diversity is a profitable SRI Strategy," Corporate Finance Review.

French Parliament (2011), "Loi sur la représentation équilibrée des femmes et des hommes dans les conseils d'administration et de surveillance *(Act on the balanced representation of women and men on Boards of Directors)*," Law number 2011-103 of 27 January.

Gilbert, S. (2012), "Femmes d'Altitude," *Les Belles Lettre*, March.

Gladman, K., & Lamb, M. (2013), "GMI Ratings' 2013 Women on Boards Survey," GMI Ratings, April.

Heidrick & Struggles (2011), "Challenging board performance – European Corporate Governance Report," 01101PBTSMI59, p. 40.

KMU FORSCHUNG AUSTRIA (Austrian Institute for SME Research) (2009), "Gender Quality Initiatives – Annex 3: Company case studies."

Landel, M. (2009), "Rapport annuel de la diversité," Sodexo.

Lipman, V. (2013), "Why Are So Many Employees Disengaged?," *FORBES*, "Leadership" Channel, 18 January, http://www.forbes.com/sites/victorlipman/2013/01/18/why-are-so-many-employees-disengaged/

Lunghi, C. (2001), "Et si les Femmes réinventaient le travail," Editions L'Organisation, p. 201.

Lord Davies of Abersoch (2012), "Women on boards," UK Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, March. http://www.bis.gov.uk//assets/biscore/business-law/docs/w/12-p135-women-on-boards-2012.pdf

Lord Davies of Abersoch (2013), "Women on boards," UK Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, April. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/182602/bis-13-p135-women-on-boards-2013.pdf

Lord Davies of Abersoch (2014), "Women on boards: Davies Review Annual Report 2014," UK Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, March. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/320000/bis-women-on-boards-2014.pdf

McKinsey & Company, "Women Matter," McKinsey & Company Studies: 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013.

MSW Research and Dale Carnegie Training (2012), "What Drives Employee Engagement and Why It Matters," October, http://www.dalecarnegie.com/imap/white_papers/employee_engagement_white_paper/

Persche, A., & Perdue, J. (2011), "Women and the Paradox of Power: 8 Keys for Transforming Business Culture," Germane Consulting/Braithwaite Innovation Group.

Rankin, J. (2013), "Women Missing Out on Senior Boardroom Roles," *The Guardian*, 11 December. http://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/dec/11/women-missing-out-on-senior-boardroom-roles

Rocoplan, V., & Vanbremeersch, C. (2011), *Oser être la chef*, Chapter 12: "Develop Your Political Sense," Leducseditions, January.

Rocoplan, V. (2012), "Les Stéréotypes," *Elles réussissent* (la newsletter de Valérie Rocoplan), No. 4, July.

Rothery, G. (2014) "Women Now Make Up 20.7pc of FTSE 100 Board Member," *Business and Leadership*, 26 March.

Sarfati, A.-C., & Gattegno, H. (2007), "Femmes au pouvoir ; récits et confidences," Stock, 10 October.

Sealy, R., & Vinnicombe, S. (2012), "The Female FTSE Board Report 2012," Cranfield International Centre for Women Leaders (Cranfield University). http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/research/documents/2012femalftse.pdf

Sealy, R., & Vinnicombe, S. (2013), "The Female FTSE Board Report 2013," Cranfield International Centre for Women Leaders (Cranfield University). http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/media/Research/Research%20Centres/CICWL/FTSEReport2013.pdf

Stanford Clayman Institute for Gender Research (2013), "Sheryl Sandberg at Stanford 4/2/13," video of interview with Sheryl Sandberg in April: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f9-d_FRjwYM

Stone, P., Cornet, A., & Cusumano, C. (2012), "Les quotas," *L'encyclopédie des diversités*, Chapter 28.

Vinnicombe, S., Doldor, E., & Turner, C. (2014), "The Female FTSE Board Report 2014: Crossing the Finish Line," Cranfield International Centre for Women Leaders (Cranfield University). http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/research/ftse/The%20Female%20FTSE%20Board%20Report%202014.pdf

Woolley, Chabris, Pentland, Hashmi and Malone (2010), "Evidence for a Collective Intelligence Factor in the Performance of Human Groups," *Sciencexpress*, 30 September.

Zenger, J., & Folkman, J. (2012), "A Study in Leadership: *Women Do It Better than Men*," Zenger Folkman, http://www.zfco.com/media/articles/ZFCo.WP.WomenBetterThanMen.033012.pdf

Zenger, J., & Folkman, J. (2012), "Are Women Better Leaders than Men?," *HBR Blog Network*, 15/03/2012: http://blogs.hbr.org/cs/2012/03/a_study_in_leadership_women_do.html

Viviane de Beaufort is a Professor at the leading European Business School ESSEC, where she is also the Director of the law faculty and Co-Director of the European Centre Law and Economics. She holds a Doctorate in European Community Law from the University of Paris I-La Sorbonne. Viviane de Beaufort is the author of several publications and conferences on Corporate Law, where her main research interests lie in the fields of Corporate Governance and Institutional Issues. She is also actively involved in European Public Affairs, being an integral member of several Think-Tanks, as well as an experienced and respected lobbyist, notably specializing in the areas of Competition law and Corporate Governance Issues. As the creator and Academic director of *Women-ESSEC* Programmes (including "Women, Be European Board Ready"), created with the support of the Women's Forum, she is committed to the progression of Women, Gender and diversity Issues. Viviane is a member of the *Global Board Ready Women* LinkedIn database. Considered an expert in the fields of Corporate Governance and Gender Issues, she is continuously engaged in academic research on these issues.

E-mail: Beaufort@essec.fr
Twitter: @vdbeaufort
Linked-in: http://www.linkedin.com/pub/viviane-de-beaufort/8/720/aa
Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/viviane.debeaufort
Blog: https://sites.google.com/a/essec.edu/viviane-de-beaufort/

Lucy Summers is a recent graduate of the University of Queensland in Australia, holding a degree in Law (LL.B) and a B.A (majoring in Economics and Advanced French). She spent two years in France as an exchange student at the elite French school of Political Science ("Sciences-Po"), as well as undertaking courses from the MBA program ("Grande Ecole" Program) at the leading European Business School, ESSEC. Since July 2012, she has been heavily involved in the research on the legal and economic aspects of Corporate Governance and the gender dimension whilst a legal research assistance for Viviane de Beaufort. She was one of the collaborators of the study "Women and Power," which was launched at the International "Women's Forum 2012." As "Programme Co-ordinator," Lucy was in charge of the organization and the 3rd session of the Executive Programme "Women Be European Board Ready" at ESSEC, which took place from October 2012 to January 2013.

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 141–155, ISSN: 2164-0262

Personnage féminin en miroir: Magdalena dans le film *Europolis**

CORNEL GHEORGHIȚĂ
teo.gheorghita@gmail.com
Université Toulouse Le Mirail II

ABSTRACT. Magdalena is the archetypal Mother par excellence. Sound, solid, like a true leader, she went through all her (trivial) life, dealing exclusively with her family. Leaving her home to go abroad for the first time, she behaves both naively and sacredly, collapsing on herself with her superstitions and her sacred rituals. Unbeknownst to her, the journey becomes a purgatory. The irony is that, although she commonly practices religious rituals, death strikes her in a completely unexpected, absurd, and trivial way.

Keywords: *Europolis*; mother; religion; soul; mirror; death


Mère Magdalena
Adriana TRANDAFIR

La Seconde Guerre mondiale et la conférence de Yalta ont entraîné une division de l'Europe en deux blocs concurrents. La Guerre Froide a jeté un voile sur toute l'histoire commune des peuples européens, déchirés, de ces

pays, divisés. Bientôt les frontières politiques de l'Europe vont s'étendre jusqu'à la Mer Noire, jusqu'au delta du Danube, jusqu'à la ville roumaine de Sulina. Sulina sera le "far-est" de l'Europe. Pourtant Sulina a eu une grande importance pour notre continent.

En Roumanie, l'histoire de l'Europe a commencé ici, à Sulina, il y a plus d'un siècle. Je voulais que celle de mon film démarre et s'achève ici, comme un lien historique entre le passé et le présent. Comme une renaissance utopique du passé. Mais, est-ce qu'on peut modifier le passé ? Ce passé d'où l'on vient, ce passé historique et culturel qui nous a construit et qui nous a donné le point du départ dans la vie ? C'est une question que Nietzsche a posé dans « Ainsi parlait Zarathoustra » avec son célèbre texte sur « l'éternel retour ».

Mais c'est plutôt l'interprétation de Mircea Eliade sur « le mythe le l'éternel retour » qui m'a intéressé.

Selon lui,

«… la réalité et la durée d'une construction sont assurées non seulement par la transformation de l'espace profane en un espace transcendant (« le Centre »), mais aussi par la transformation du temps concret en temps mythique. Un rituel qui se développe non seulement dans l'espace consacré, c'est-à-dire essentiellement distinct de l'espace profane, mais encore dans un « espace-temps sacré », « en ce temps-là » , c'est-à-dire lorsque le rituel a été accompli pour la première fois par un dieu, un ancêtre ou un héros. »

Qu'est-ce que « Le Centre » ?

« Chaque exilé est un Ulysse en route vers Ithaque. – Toute existence réelle reproduit l'Odyssée – Le chemin vers Ithaque, vers le centre. »[1]

Selon lui l'existence est un cycle destiné à se reproduire invariablement. Nos actes, les événements de notre vie, heureux ou malheureux, nous sommes condamnés à les vivre éternellement. Ainsi Nietzsche fait peser d'un poids énorme les conséquences d'un acte ou d'une décision sur existence de l'individu. D'où l'idée que seule la seule race des surhommes, ces héros au courage infini, est celle qui peut affronter la pensée de l'éternel retour dans un effort supra humain de dépassement et d'autonomie de l'individu. Il ne s'agit pas d'une résurrection qu'on retrouve dans certaines religions, ni de l'homme surpuissant ou du culte du héros. Il s'agit plutôt d'un homme qui prend conscience de lui, de son passé personnel, qu'il voit dissout dans un passé historique. Il doit alors se dépasser car l'homme est un pont et non un terme.

Dans « Europolis » parallèlement au voyage de cette âme, un autre cycle est développé au travers d'un simple objet. Une vieille carte postale de Sulina. Magdalena commence à écrire sur cette carte, quelques mots qu'elle adresse à ses enfants :

« Mes chers, je viens de vous faire des signes d'au revoir à la fenêtre... Mais, je ne sais pas pourquoi, tout d'un coup, vous me manquez déjà … »

Le facteur frappe à la porte et Magdalena reçoit le télégramme qui lui annoncera la mauvaise nouvelle...

À la fin du film, on retrouve le même facteur qui rapporte la valise de Nae égarée pendant le voyage. Maria, la fille de Magdalena, découvre à l'intérieur la carte postale. Ce voyage en parallèle de la carte postale, symbolise la continuité de la pensée, transmise au fil des générations. La fille finit de lire les mots que sa mère avait commencé à écrire :

« … J'ai eu l'impression que je ne vous reverrai jamais. J'ai toujours de mauvais pressentiments. C'est ainsi depuis toujours. Mais je suis votre mère. Et vous me pardonnerez. »

Dans la tradition, la route que le cortège emprunte vers le cimetière est toujours parsemée par d'obstacles : pont, cours d'eau, fontaine. Ces obstacles sont interprétés comme des douanes célestes. Dans Europolis, durant leur voyage, Nae et Magdalena traversent les frontières des pays d'Europe (viaducs, tunnels, cours d'eux etc). Bien qu'ils fassent ce long voyage pour la première fois, Nae affirme en passant dans un tunnel (et donc sous la terre) :

« *J'ai l'impression d'avoir déjà vécu cela.* »

Pour arriver à créer l'idée de l'âme, j'ai souvent utilisé dans le film le principe de la symétrie. Dans la vie réelle, les symétries sont très rares. Chaque individu est unique, chaque objet est unique. L'idée que l'on puisse être identique avec un autre crée le trouble, parce que l'on sait dans notre inconscient que ce n'est pas possible. C'est peut-être que pour cela que chaque fois quand nous sommes seuls devant un miroir nous sommes troublés par notre image.

Le miroir a une fonction récurrente dans le film.

« Les miroirs sont les portes par lesquelles la Mort va et vient. »
Jean Cocteau – *Orphée*.

Ne pas se regarder dans un miroir est aussi une question de respect envers le défunt. Pendant la période de deuil, les proches ne doivent pas trop penser à eux-mêmes et ne doivent pas chercher à s'embellir devant un miroir. C'est la saison pour laquelle les hommes ne se rasent pas pendant cette période.

La signification des miroirs par-delà leur fonction propre, provient de l'ancienne croyance selon laquelle l'image et son modèle sont liés par une correspondance magique : les miroirs peuvent, par conséquent, retenir l'âme ou la force vitale de l'homme qui s'y réfléchit ; c'est pourquoi on recom-

mande dans les coutumes populaires de recouvrir les miroirs à la mort d'une personne pour ne point retenir son âme dans la chambre mortuaire et lui permettre de passer dans l'au-delà.

Juste après la mort, l'âme a du mal à se séparer de son corps, d'autant plus qu'elle a besoin de temps pour comprendre et accepter son nouvel état et pour préparer le voyage à parcourir. Au début elle erre dans sa maison, ensuite autour de celle-ci, puis de plus en plus loin.

Si, par malheur, l'âme voit son image dans un miroir elle peut s'y abriter, au risque de s'égarer définitivement. Elle tentera alors de s'emparer de l'âme de ses proches qui s'y miroitent. Ainsi, le malheur s'installera des deux côtés du miroir.

C'est pourquoi la tradition veut que, jusqu'à l'enterrement, l'on couvre les miroirs de la maison d'un tissu ou qu'ils soient tournés face au mur.

Pour les Roumains, ne pas se regarder dans un miroir signifie aussi témoigner du respect envers le défunt. Durant la période de deuil, les proches du disparu ne doivent pas trop penser à eux-mêmes : s'embellir devant un miroir c'est particulièrement mal vu. C'est pourquoi, pendant les 40 jours, les hommes de la famille ne se rasent plus, la barbe étant considérée comme signe de douleur et de deuil.

Andrei Pleşu a fait la remarque suivante : « Le sens de la vision jouit d'un prestige très ancien. On l'appelait, dans la Grèce antique, le « grand sens ». Indissociable de la pratique sereine de la contemplation, organe irremplaçable de la « vie de spectateur » (theoretikos bios), situé au-delà des contingences de la vie « pratique », la vision se trouve dans un rapport de voisinage avec l'intellect, sinon même dans un rapport d'identité symbolique. La vision est le sens le moins lié à la corporalité. Chacun des autres sens implique, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, un contact épidermique avec le stimulus qu'il permet de le recevoir. »[2]

Dans « Europolis », le miroir est omniprésent. À la fois en tant qu'objet mais aussi comme un axe de répétition des situation, ou comme une surface qui double les personnages.

Magdalena, la gardienne de la tradition couvre tous les miroirs, pour éviter que l'âme du mort ne puisse la traverser. Dans son ignorance Nae, en arrivant dans la chambre de l'oncle, essaie sa casquette et se regarde dans le miroir. Il ouvre alors la porte qui sépare le monde des vivants et le monde des morts. L'esprit se manifeste pour la première fois par sa voix, lorsque le répondeur téléphonique se déclenche :

« Je ne suis pas là, laissez-moi votre message et je vous contacterai dès mon retour. À bientôt. »

De même, plus tard, alors que Magdalena est restée seule dans la maison, elle entend des pas à l'extérieur. Elle attrape instinctivement le drap qui

couvrait le miroir près d'elle pour se couvrir et ouvre à nouveau le passage. On voit alors une ombre qui passe dans le reflet de la fenêtre réfléchie par le miroir.

Comme dans un miroir, les situations se répètent symétriquement. La séquence du télégramme entre le facteur et Magdalena trouve son double dans la séquence de la valise entre le même facteur et Maria, la fille de Magdalena.

Filmée du même point de vue, l'apparition de Nae sautant le grillage du cimetière au début, est symétrique à sa disparition à la fin du film.

Magdalena est La Mère par excellence, archétypale. Saine, solide, comme un chef, elle a traversé toute sa vie en s'occupant exclusivement de sa famille. Nous avons du mal à s'imaginer qu'elle puisse quitter la terre natale à laquelle elle appartient depuis toujours.

Dans la cuisine Maria avec le combiné du téléphone à la main attend avec impatience que quelqu'un décroche à l'autre bout du fil.

MARIA
Où traîne encore ce gosse ?
Maman, je peux pas rester sans rien faire.

Assise à table, Magdalena répare méticuleusement un filet de pêche.

MAGDALENA
Aide-moi plutôt à finir ça.
MARIA
Fiche-moi la paix avec tes filets. J'ai pas envie de faire tes nœuds !
MAGDALENA
Calme-toi.
MARIA (accroche le combiné de téléphone)
Tu as fais ça toute ta vie et à quoi ça a servi ?
MAGDALENA
A quoi ? A vous nourrir ! Voilà à quoi ça a servit.
Toute seule, j'ai fait ce que j'ai pu.
MARIA
Et c'est reparti !

Maria sort de la cuisine en claquant derrière elle la porte.

MAGDALENA
Oui encore. Tout ce que vous savez faire, c'est claquer les portes
et m'engueuler. Ma petite Maria ! Tu verras quand tu auras mon âge.
MAGDALENA
J'étais toute seule pour vous élever. Voilà comment je suis remerciée.

La sonnette de l'appartement de Magdalena retentit avec insistance. Magdalena ouvre. À la porte, Petricà tient par la main Nàicà (le petit-fils de Magdalena)

PETRICA
Voilà ton petit protégé !
MAGDALENA
Où étais-tu ?

Magdalena le tire à l'intérieur de l'appartement en essayant de fermer la porte derrière lui. Mais Petricà arrive à pénétrer dans le couloir de l'appartement.

PETRICA
Il était avec le fils d'Ovidiu près de la cabane du garde.
NAICA
Pas tout à fait.

Nae arrive à son tour dans le couloir. Il s'approche en menaçant son neveu Nàicà.

NAE
Ne me dis pas que vous avez pris ma barque.
MAGDALENA
Qu'est-ce que vous cherchiez là-bas ?
NAICA
C'était l'idée de Doru. On voulait pas revenir sans la barque…
NAE
Comment oses-tu revenir sans ma barque ?
PETRICA
Du calme. T'en achèteras une autre.

Furieux Nae veut donner une claque à Nàicà.

NAE
Sans la barque, tu peux pas rester dans cette maison.

Magdalena se met entre Nae et Nàicà pour protéger ce dernier. Elle se met nez à nez avec Nae et lui parle d'un ton ferme :

MAGDALENA
C'est ma maison Il est chez moi, pas chez toi !
Combien de barques as-tu perdu quand t'étais gosse ?
PETRICA (en se moquant)
Ne me dis pas qu'ils ont perdu la barque du vieux.
MAGDALENA (avec le même ton)
Toi, tu nous fous la paix.

Comme tous les gens simples, son comportement est toujours respectueux. Elle s'adresse aux gens d'un ton plutôt naïf, à première vue, mais avec la curiosité spécifique des gens de la campagne qui posent tout le temps des questions. Entêtée, elle ne s'arrête jamais avant d'avoir obtenu une réponse.

Dans une cabine téléphonique, les pantoufles de Magdalena et les bottes de pêcheur de Nae. Les cris désespérés de Nae sont accompagnés par les chuchotements de sa mère qui lui glisse toute sorte de questions à l'oreille.

VOIX NAE (mélange de roumain et de français)
Oui…Non… Monsieur… Maître… oui, Luca… pas compris…
Franta oui la France … aici Dunarea… ă Danubius….
telegrama… cum.. comment… la bas… cînd ! …
VOIX MAGDALENA
Mais quoi, il a oublié le roumain? Le pauvre... Je veux lui parler.
Quoi ? C'est pas lui ? ... Quel maître ?
VOIX NAE (mélange de roumain et de français)
Non, ma mère Magdalena Neagra, non La mer Noire elle ne sait pas parler
Taci mama ! pas francez, français non… Oui avion. In Franta…
La France… trop vite, parlez-vous trop vite…
Taci mama ca nu-nteleg nimic…
NAE
Maricela, appelle Ovidiu et dis-lui de venir ici très vite!

Dans le hall du bureau de poste, deux vieilles, un vieux et un gamin écoutent la conversation en silence.

La téléphoniste Maricela, le casque à l'oreille, se tourne vers la centrale téléphonique et compose un numéro.

MARICELA
Allo? Allo, le musée?
Les pieds nus, le gamin sort en courant de la poste.
LE VIEUX
Mais quel Luca? Le frère à Magdalena, celui du cimetière?
LE FACTEUR
Apparemment, il est en France maintenant.
LE VIEUX
Mais quelle histoire! Il est arrivé jusque là? Il a disparu tout d'un coup.
Nea Ilie a été le dernier à le voir.
LE FACTEUR
Qui ça? Nea Ilie, le garde forestier borgne?
LE VIEUX
Il l'a vu partir en mer. On dit qu'il avait un âne sur son bateau.
LE FACTEUR
Un âne? C'est une illusion de borgne...

LE VIEUX
Il est parti à cause des bolcheviques.
LA VIEILLE1
Mais non, il est parti pour une femme, et on l'a pas revu. On a retrouvé que des morceaux de sa barque qui avait coulée. Preuve suffisante pour que la pauvre Magdalena l'enterre…
LA VIEILLE 2
C'était pas pendant la Commission, tout ça ?
C'est pour ça qu'il est parti, pour pas être envoyé au chantier naval !
LE VIEUX
Quelle commission?
LE FACTEUR
Celle du Danube, non ?
LA VIEILLE 1
Celle du roi, de Carol.
LE FACTEUR
S'il s'agit de Carol, celui-là est parti avant la guerre.
LA VIEILLE 2
Comme le temps passe...

A côté d'eux, le gamin est entré et lèche une glace. Devant le guichet, d'autres amateurs de commentaires se sont rassemblés.

Dans la cabine, on voit maintenant trois paires de jambes.

La téléphoniste Maricela, qui tourne le dos, n'a pas remarqué l'arrivée de Ovidiu, emmené par le gamin.

MARICELA
Allo ? Allo, le musée, répondez! Allo, le musée!
Ovidiu sort la tête de la cabine.
OVIDIU vers la téléphoniste
Oui, Maricela, je suis là. Je peux parler?
Maricela se retourne, surprise.
LA VIEILLE 1 (reprenant la conversation)
Il passe vite le temps. On dirait que ça s'est passé hier...
OVIDIU (en français)
Oui Monsieur… Oui je vous comprends bien… Oui… Oui, je comprends. La succession… IL EST MORT.

Au mot « mort », tout le monde se tait au bureau de poste. Juste quelques bips électroniques et leur rythme monotone. Dehors on entend toujours le son des cloches, long et rare, annonçant la mort.

Arrivée en France, elle a un comportement à la fois naïf et admiratif. En traversant le quartier de la Défense, à Paris, elle est nostalgique et pense à George Georgescu, une personnalité de la ville de Sulina. Il a été un des

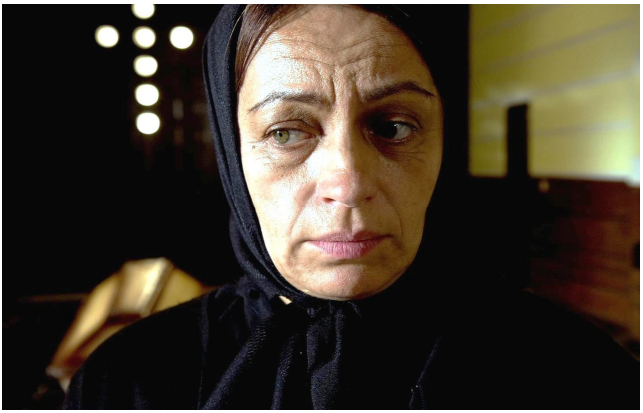
plus connu chef d'orchestre roumain. A l'époque, son nom était aussi célèbre que celui de Sergiu Celibidache aujourd'hui. Il a dirigé les grands orchestres de Paris, Londres, New York, Berlin, etc.

MAGDALENA
Où va-t-on maintenant ?
NAE
On change d'aéroport.
MAGDALENA
J'aurais aimé qu'on s'arrête à Paris, là où notre chef d'orchestre a dirigé.
NAE
Tu as envie de musique maintenant?
MAGDALENA
Je pense à la voisine,qui se vante avec son cousin de Paris,
le grand chef d'orchestre. Elle avait raison.
Combien d'entre nous ont été applaudis à Paris ?

A la différence de Nae, qui s'intéressé plutôt à l'héritage de son oncle, Magdalena fait ce voyage pour l'âme de son frère. Elle est soucieuse de respecter le rituel d'enterrement pour que l'âme de Luca repose en paix. Et quand les choses ne se passent selon la tradition, elle essaie de faire tout son possible pour que le rituel soit respecté :

Intérieur crematorium.

Assis sur une chaise, Magdalena et Nae regardent dans le vide dans la salle d'attente. À côté de Magdalena, son gros sac avec toutes ses affaires, des bougies, des petits pains, des brioches, une bouteille de vin, des serviettes, enfin, tout ce qu'il faut pour un enterrement roumain.



(Magdalena dans le crématoire) *Europolis,* de C. Gheorghiță.

Une porte s'ouvre. Deux fonctionnaires passent devant eux portant un cercueil posé sur un chariot. Magdalena se lève et fait le signe de la croix. Sans aucune perturbation, les deux hommes poussent le chariot vers une autre salle, où on peut entr'apercevoir le four du crématorium. Un homme regarde résigné le cercueil.

MAGDALENA
C'est un pêché de ne pas l'enterrer comme il faut !
NAE
Qu'est-ce que tu veux maintenant ? Tu as bien vu combien coûte une place au cimetière. Et c'est même pas pour toujours. Les enfoirés te le vendent sur dix ans. Et après ?
MAGDALENA
On aurait pu le prendre avec nous, à la maison. L'enterrer chez nous, là où il a sa place.
NAE s'arrête devant elle
Qu'est-ce que tu crois ? Tu vas monter le mort dans l'avion et le ramener à la maison? Et à la douane tu leur dis que c'est ton frère, à peine refroidi, qu'il était parti se promener et que maintenant tu l'emmènes au cimetière ? C'est comme ça qu'on transporte les cadavres, tu crois? Tu as entendu Maître Ribot. Seuls les gens importants peuvent voyager après la mort, où ceux qui sont bourrés de fric.
MAGDALENA soupirant
Grand pêché ! Que Dieu nous le pardonne !

Ils se dirigent vers la salle de crémation. Magdalena commence à pleurer. Nae prend son bras et la guide vers l'autre salle. Le cercueil de Luca est posé sur le tapis roulant qui va vers le four. Magdalena commence à faire des gestes désespérés vers son fils, vers les fonctionnaires, pour arrêter le tapis roulant.

NAE s'approche
Qu'est-ce qui se passe, maman ?
MAGDALENA
Tu ne vois pas qu'il part la tête en avant ? Nom de Dieu !
NAE
Et alors ? Quelle importance ça peut avoir ?
MAGDALENA
Comment ça, quelle importance ? "L'homme rentre dans le monde la tête en avant et doit le quitter les pieds en avant".
NAE
Comment tu sais ça, toi ?
MAGDALENA déterminée
Si toi tu ne lui dis pas de tourner le cercueil, je le tourne moi-même !

Nae chuchote quelque chose à l'oreille du fonctionnaire, qui le regarde étonné, mais va mettre le cercueil à l'envers. Magdalena fait le signe de la croix. Le cercueil part pieds en avant vers les entrailles du four. Magdalena éclate en sanglots. La porte du four se ferme. Nae la prend dans ses bras. Des rivières de larmes...

Encore une fois, Magdalena tient à respecter la tradition, en faisant la « pomana », c'est à dire le repas mortuaire en hommage au mort. Nae, Magdalena, Ata et « l'âme » de Luca, sont à table. Ce dernier a sa place face à Magdalena, qui a mis pour lui la chaise, une assiette, un verre, des couverts et bien sûr une bougie allumée. Sur la table, elle a posé les pains qu'elle a préparé à la maison, « la coliva » et le vin. Derrière la chaise de Luca, les habits du mort accrochés au portemanteau suggère une silhouette.



(Magdalena et le repas mortuaire) *Europolis*, de C. Gheorghiță.

Malgré la foi en sa religion et son culte pour les traditions, Magdalena reste un personnage ouvert à toute autre culture. Quand elle découvre le dernier vœu de Luca, elle est devant un dilemme : respecter la tradition orthodoxe ou bien le vœu du défunt. Le vœu du défunt l'emporte. Car pour le paysan roumain c'est la philosophie populaire qui prime face à la religion.

MAGDALENA
Aide-moi à servir le « coliva »
ATA
Que signifie « coliva » ?
NAE
C'est ce que l'on sert pour le repas du mort.
MAGDALENA
Il est fait avec du blé,des noix et du sucre.
NAE
C'est le gâteau du mort.
ATA
Lucas savait qu'il allait mourir. Il m'a demandé de partir chez moi
J'ai ramené quelque chose de beau de là-bas. Quelque chose
que l'on fait seulement chez moi en Afrique. Venez voir.

Ata se lève et sort de la maison. Nae et Magdalena le suivent.

Derrière la maison, à la lumière de la lune, ils découvrent sur le toit de la Citroën de Luca, un objet étrange en bois qui représente un âne assis.

Nae et Magdalena le regardent bouche bée.

ATA
C'est pour lui. Il voulait être enterré là-dedans.
NAE
C'est un cercueil ?
MAGDALENA
Bon Dieu, quelle idée !
ATA
Lucas aimait beaucoup cela chez nous. Cțest lui-même qui l'a choisi.
MAGDALENA
Comment ? Un âne ?
NAE
Mais où va-t-on le mettre ?
ATA
A Sulina.
MAGDALENA
Qu'est-ce qu'il dit Nae ?Lucas voulait être enterré chez nous ?
NAE
Exact Et dans ce cercueil.
MAGDALENA
Je te l'avais dit Nae ! C'est un grand péché. Il fallait l'enterrer…
ATA
L'âne c'est important.

Si pendant le voyage Magdalena pleure tout le temps ce n'est pas parce qu'elle est seulement triste, faible ou même pleurnicharde. Elle pleure parce qu'elle doit aussi jouer le rôle de la pleureuse. Lors de tout enterrement, il faut, selon la tradition, engager et payer quelques pleureuses pour assurer le service auprès du mort pendant les 3 jours de veille mais aussi pendant la période de deuil.

Loin de chez elle, sans repère, elle se replie sur elle-même. Le voyage devient pour elle un purgatoire. L'ironie du sort est qu'alors même qu'elle se consacre en permanence à respecter les rituels religieux, la mort la frappe d'une manière complètement inattendue, absurde, banale alors qu'elle vient de retrouver son pays.

Elle avait confié à Ata sa seule crainte : *« Je ne veux pas mourir à l'étranger. Je veux rentrer chez moi ».*



(Magdalena et la lumière) *Europolis*, de C. Gheorghiță.

À la différence de Nae, Magdalena a une dimension plus « terre à terre », avec une forte présence charnelle mais elle a aussi une dimension magique. Quand elle entre dans le bungalow d'Ata, elle découvre un petit phare qui s'allume comme par magie quand elle le touche. À la fin de l'histoire, c'est le phare de Sulina qui s'éclaire miraculeusement. De même qu'elle conduit le cortège vers le musée pour la dernière nuit de veille, la lumière du phare guide les marins dans le brouillard et guide les âmes durant leur voyage vers l'au-delà.

Jean Cuisiner faisait pourtant ces remarques : « Ni l'érudition pour le traitement des relevés anciens, ni la qualité pour les observations récentes ne font donc défaut. Nombreux cependant sont les aspects des rites pratiqués qui restent non élucidés. Plus obscurs encore demeurent les rapports que ces rites entretiennent avec les usages de la vie familiale, les cannons des cérémonies religieuses et les fastes des célébrations civiques. Et l'on est encore loin d'avoir compris les rapports qui transparaissent, à traves ces rites, entre l'articulation par le langage de textes dits, proférés, clamés ou chantés, d'une part, l'émission de la voix, les attitudes et postures du corps, d'autre part. Probablement est-on plus loin encore d'avoir pénétré le sens dans lequel fonctionnent les relations entre les formules explicitées dans les textes, les croyances exprimées par ces formules, les représentations impliquées dans les unes et les autres, les attitudes, enfin, manifestées par les gestuelles correspondantes ».[3]

Dans le film *Europolis*, Magdalena croit en l'existence de l'âme dans l'au-delà. Même après sa mort, elle est présente, jusqu'au bout du voyage, auprès de son fils. Dans la voiture, c'est à la place qu'elle occupait, que Nae installe l'âne que lui ont confié les gitans. Jusqu'à la fin de l'histoire, ils ne se quitteront plus jamais.



(Magdalena et son esprit) *Europolis*, de C. Gheorghiță

* *Europolis* – film fiction 100 min. de Corneliu Gheorghiță

Date de sortie septembre 2010 – Distribué en France, Roumanie, République Tchéquie, Slovaquie, Pologne. Mention spéciale du jury premier œuvre – Festival des films du Monde Montréal 2010. Prix scénario HBO – Roumanie 2005. Prix d'interprétation pour le meilleur rôle principal féminin – Adriana Trandafir – Cyprus International film festival 2011. Prix pour la meilleure image – Ovidiu Màrginèan – Cyprus International film festival 2011. Prix pour le meilleur décor- Bogdan Ionescu & brubo Dumont – Cyprus International film festival 2011. Prix pour la meilleure musique – Diego Losa & François Petit – Cyprus International film festival 2011. Prix spécial du jury Kiméra 2011.

REFERENCES

1. Eliade, Mircea (1973), *Fragments d'un journal*. Paris : Edition Gallimard.
2. Pleșu, Andrei (2005), *Actualité des Anges*. Paris : Edition Buchet-Chastel, 135–136.
3. Cuisiner, Jean (1994), *Le feu vivant*. Paris : Edition PUF, 342.

Corneliu Gheorghiță is a lecturer PhD at the School of Audiovisual, University of Toulouse Le Mirail. He has defended his Ph.D. thesis *En quête de la forme filmique*. He has completed two fictions of adapted from Samuel Beckett: *Dis Joe* (vidéo, 26 mn) and *Adieu à l'amour* (16mm, 60 mn), scenarios original fiction: *La Colline*, *Les fauves*, and *Garantie à vie* (1994–1997), documentary films *Mascarades* (52 min video), *Fanfaron, Fanfaron – The Brassy bands* (52 min video). Films broadcast on ARTE France, Tv5 International, Rai Uno Italy, Ireland TG 4, Sky – Hong Kong, TLT Toulouse (2001–2004), implementation of several experimental films, *Luna Porc*, *L'étoile magique*, *L'épave*, *Quelle heure est-il* ? (2005–2006), scenario for a documentary on the Danube Delta film, *Sulina: Le Far-Est de l'Europe*, supported by MEDIA Europe (2007). He is currently working on a documentary on death rituals film Wallachia, *Comment enterrer les vampires* and a short film entitled *L'homme au crâne rasé*.

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 156–189, ISSN 2164-0262

BOOK REVIEWS

The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism
Laura Oso (Universidade da Coruña)
Natalia Ribas Mateos (Universidade da Coruña) (eds.)
Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, ISBN 978-1-78195-146-0, 2013, 512 pp.

The International Handbook on Gender, Migration and Transnationalism represents a modern and one of the latest important connections between gender and migration in a globalizing world. It is built upon authentic contributions by authors across multiple disciplinary worldwide, based on critical researches on gender and migration concepts.

This challenging *Handbook* refers to important debates on issues of gender, migration, transnationalism and development from a migration–development connection. The volume discusses in details the influence of global changes – and more specifically transnational migration flows – taking into account the development of production and reproduction series. The "global care chains" are particularly focused on, by means of modern analytical models arising from the coming into light tendencies developed by women in present-time dynamics.

The key words of this international handbook are: development studies, development economics, family and gender policy, migration, economics and finance, development economics, geography, human geography, politics and public policy, migration, social policy and sociology, family and gender policy, migration, urban and regional studies, migration.

The *Handbook* comprises six parts and 21 chapters, preceded by an **Introduction** that introduces readers to the concept of gender subsuming it into the globalized world circuit. This introduction also steers to a confrontation with extensive areas of literature along with a substantial bibliography, which also indicates further reading in the selected topics of interest. Each part draws our attention to the contradictory trends of globalization, as a dialectical set of continuities and discontinuities, an intensification of previously established models, as well as new features of a system that is lacking in effective regulatory measures.

Such a global context has allowed the authors to specify the processes that constitute the link between the different types of global changes through a particular type of conceptualization that brings to the fore how women's strategic migration projects have emerged in the play of global chains. Designing globalization along these lines confronts theory and research with new challenges related to transnational migration. Within this global context the persistent disparities and asymmetries have been located with respect to mobility not only of capital but also of labour around the world.

Part I covers topics on the global context and its mobilities – were the notion of the global assembly line and the change from the Fordist migration model to transnationalism. The mobility of people is conceived as a fundamental resource of mobility chains when considering it in different scales and places provided by a number of case studies in this handbook. As the handbook focuses on gender and the migration axis areas, the authors considered all such issues of the new debates: migration and care work, sexualities and sex trafficking, the transnational approach, the agency-based approach and the intersectionality theory related to migrant women status, the approach being combined.

Part II covers new theoretical and methodological issues in the study of female migration and development. The perspective on policy discourse regarding international migration – especially female migration – focusing on the complex intersection between development studies, migration studies and gender. Starting from a critical conceptualization of gender as well as gender and migration, we have seen – with our contributors' help – that the cases can be heterogeneous, even by using examples from the same country and by acknowledging that the impact of migration on development is far from being a deterministic model. This again has driven us to reflect on a more combined approach of structure and agency, which we think we can solve through linking production and reproduction chains.

Part III focuses on gender, migration and development through different case studies, analyzing the women migrants' productive role (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Parreñas, 2001), especially for Latin American countries and the recent immigrants of Sub-Saharan African origin living in the United States. It also brings to light Morrocan migration which was oriented to Europe, France mainly, then more towards Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and, since the mid-1980s, Italy and Spain, and on the reasons Morrocan migrants ended up settling in their hostlands, despite expectations and restrictive immigration policies.

Part IV is a perspective on migration and transnationalism based on studies that have thriven in the last 30 years, and rendered that gender is still ghettoized in immigration scholarship. Basic concepts such as gender, sex, power, privilege, sexual discrimination and intersectionalities are regularly

absent from the vocabulary and the study designs. Considering that the "woman" or "gender" subjects are constantly avoided, the authors realized that gender remains one of the fundamental social relations that anchors and impacts immigration patterns, including labour migration as well as professional class migrations and refugee movements. The chapters included in this part bring a brief overview of the literature in France focusing on gender and women in migration since the beginning of the 1990s, trying to avoid a discourse on "rethinking migration," on "new trends" and "discoveries," but without ignoring the production of knowledge which has shaped the current highly interesting and multifaceted debate. The next section addresses the debates preceding the period we are focusing on, namely from the 1970s onwards. The subsequent sections will provide an overview of selected issues and trends in research. In spite of the diversity of origins, profiles and patterns of migration, paradoxically there is a certain stubborn constancy in stereotyping women as "passive victims." Considering the trend of bi-directional flow of people, goods and ideas across borders that seems to appear inconsistent with classical perspectives of "assimilation" and called into question traditional notions of citizenship and the state (Bloemraad et al., 2008), migration scholars began emphasizing the extent to which international migration consisted of mutually reinforcing processes unfolding in both departing and receiving communities. This part also underlines that research on the second generation has focused mostly on issues of "home," "identity" and "belonging;" all three rather fluid concepts often linked to processes of "integration." All these concepts, from "generation" to "integration," are not only complex, contested and ambiguous but also location specific where specificities of particular societies shape both policy and everyday life of migrants and their descendants.

Part V describes the Global Production through the internationalization of domestic work and female immigration in Spain during a decade of economic expansion, 1999–2008. The increase from 4.4 to 18 per cent of all employed women in Spain created an important upward labour and social mobility of young Spanish women which has lead to a new labour demand to fill the lower-level positions left vacant by the Spanish population. The externalization of domestic tasks seems to be responsible for the massive arrival of immigrant women.

Part VI of this *Handbook*, the last section, dealing with "the global care chains," draws attention on care and feminized North–South and South–South migration flows: denial of rights and limited citizenship and the so-called "care crisis" as one of the key factors explaining the increasing numbers of immigrant women carrying out this work in both the northern and southern hemispheres. The analysis presented is part of a wider debate on gender, migration and development. Last but not least, the two ending

chapters of this part introduce, each, real ethnographic cases, illustrating temporary female migrations through transnational family networks, one among Riffian Imazighen residents – Catalonia, the cases of Nadia and of Amina, and the other one a case study of skilled Polish migrant women in the UK, who have different opinions and perspectives on life outside the country and the desire o return.

This review is undoubtedly too short for such an advanced insightful exploration of the so-called "global care chains" with new perspectives built around the coming out swings developed by women in contemporary mobility flows between gender and migration within a still globalizing world. Therefore, all contributions brought to and gathered in this *Handbook* call for a diligent and careful reading.

Carmen Ghinea, Spiru Haret University

Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization
Ramona Mihăilă, Efstratia Oktapoda, Nancy Honicker (eds.),
10 vols., Addleton Academic Publishers, New York, 2013

VOLUME I
ISBN: 978-1-935494-27-0 (273 p.)

ŞIMA İMŞIR PARKER
shimaimshir@gmail.com
University of Manchester

The *Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization* Conference was organized by the Spiru Haret University of Bucharest, Romania, in June 2011. Inviting academics and researchers from all around the world under the broad subject umbrella of "gender," it proved to be an ambitious event, approaching gender through many different disciplines, with different historical and geographical perspectives. As one of the participants of the conference, I found myself in a rich intellectual atmosphere with participants from around over the world (36 countries, to be precise), each adding a unique angle to the gender discussion. The conference proceedings came two years after the conference as a product of hard work and devotion, evidenced by the gathering together of papers from more than 200 contributors in 10 volumes. Subjects and focal points vary immensely, loyal to the "global" nature of the conference. The eclectic nature of the subject makes broad summaries of the main lines of the volumes unhelpful, but a random picture of the subjects will hopefully give an idea: From treatment of infertility in Nigeria to a discussion on Margaret Thatcher, from the relationship of music edu-

cation and gender to the reception of Shakespeare in Romania during its communist period, the proceedings itself are proof how gender is intrinsic to every aspect of life and how it is a key to questioning, problematizing or rethinking so much of academia.

The first volume of the proceedings includes 23 papers, presented under three main titles. The first part, entitled *Culture, Politics and Literature in the Contexts of Globalization*, deals with two widely acknowledged women author's works: Herta Müller and Elfriede Jelinek. The powerful opening article by Ileana Alexandra Orlich focuses on the relationship between women's identity and the oppressive atmosphere of the Second World War in Müller's *Nadirs, The Passport* and *The Land of Green Plums*. In this compelling paper, Orlich investigates the traumas of Müller's female protagonists in her novels which use communist Romania or the German bloc as settings. Moving from oppression to empowerment, Anna Babka and Peter Clar focus on Elfriede Jelinek's two plays, *Krankheit oder Moderne Frauen* and *Ulrike Maria Stuart* and trace Jelinek's feminism.

The second chapter, entitled *Workshops upon the Dynamics of Gender Studies from a Global Perspective*, indulges in social experiences and the political positioning of gender. In what is arguably the most interesting paper of the volume, Claire Crabtree-Sinnet discusses language as an important device to subvert gender norms. Sharing her experiences of the Woman's Studies program at the University of Detroit Mercy, she portrays gender as a powerful approach capable of bringing institutions like religion into crisis. Opened in a university where Catholicism is a central element, the program faces challenges due to this characteristic of the university. Claire Crabtree-Sinnet focuses especially on two incidents during her paper, but every other detail that she presents regarding her experiences during and after the formation of the department suggests new topics to contemplate. Women's struggle to develop a sexual harassment policy within the faculty, or how the display of sexism via Barbie dolls offended the Jesuit population of the school are just two extremely interesting examples. It is a powerful article that reflects how gender studies is a strong tool to undermine norms and accepted values, revealing gender stereotypes lying underneath the patriarchal system.

In her paper, entitled "The 'Headscarf Affairs:' French Universalism Put to the Test," Nancy Honicker focuses on the head-scarf issue that has become an important subject of debate in French politics. Honicker analyses the concept behind *laicité* and reveals its mirror nature. This nature points at not only the patriarchal crisis behind the French obsession with the Muslim veil, "that of dominant male against dominant male," but also at "the Republic's failure to integrate those populations with roots in its ex-colonies."

The last chapter of the first volume is devoted to the outcomes of the research developed from the *WomenWriters* database. These researchers have gathered together for the project *NEWW: New Approaches to European Women's Writing (before 1900)* and the related COST Action, titled as *Women Writers in History: Toward a New Understanding of European Literary Culture.* An important mutual characteristic to the papers is the attempt to reveal a neglected part of the history of women writers. In "The Public Presence of Bulgarian Women in Romanian Cities during the 60–70s of the 19th Century," Nadezhda Alexandrova not only focuses on an untouched issue, Bulgarian women's organization during the Romanian monarchy of the 19th century and Bulgarian women's presence in the public life of Romania, but also points out that there is still much to reveal on the interactions between Romanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Jewish women's organizations. Such revelations of the interaction between women's organizations present a new piece of the puzzle of the history of the 19th century Romanian monarchy. Çimen Günay Erkol and Senem Timuroğlu Bozkurt focus on women's autobiographical writing in the Ottoman Empire through the writings of a 17th century female dervish, Asiye Hatun, a 19th century novelist and women rights' activist, Fatma Aliye, and an early modern novelist and intellectual, Ayşe Zekiye. By focusing on the construction of the self, they reflect on Ottoman women's struggles to create a female self in written form in the pre-modern Ottoman Empire. One of the intentions of this paper is to reveal how these three writers deal with the problems of individuality. The paper illuminates uncharted territories in Ottoman women's writing, and illustrates the potential for important insights into the roots and evolution of the sense of the self, individuality and autobiographical writing in Ottoman Empire.

Ramona Mihăilă focuses on another neglected gender history issue and focus on both canonized and neglected women writers in 19th century Romanian writing and these women writers' effects on women's changing positions in society during the period. Discussing the fields in which women were active during the period, including journalism, editorship, and teaching, she gives important clues to understanding the female literary tradition in Romanian writing. Carmen Beatrice Duțu suggests that the mid-19th century witnessed an imported modernity through women readers who welcomed popular sentimental novels which were adopted from French literary culture. In her paper, Duțu reveals that through their private act of reading, these women readers turned into powerful agents to reshape the cultural realm of the Romania of the 19th century and were active in the creation of a "new Romanian (trans)national identity." Ioana Mitea investigates the role of women in 19th century Romanian theatres, suggesting that women were important figures both as actresses and as a part of the audience. In her

paper she examines the reciprocal relationship between women as powerful supporters of the 19th century theatre culture of Romania, and theatres as places for the socialization of elite women. Lastly, Onorina Botezat focuses on the search for identity in an important 20th century Romanian writer's works, Martha Bibesco.

To conclude, the first volume of the *Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization Conference Proceedings* presents wide and varied perspectives on gender studies that shows the richness of the field and how, as it is stated as the main principle of the conference, in this age of globalization, the dialogue of different branches of gender studies has the strong potential to undermine the patriarchal norms of societies, institutions as well as discourses.

VOLUME II

ISBN: 978-1-935494-39-3 (234 p.)

ARTEMIS MICHAILIDOU
arorm@yahoo.co.uk
Hellenic Military Academy

This is a comprehensive and well-organized volume offering a wealth of new perspectives on gender: from interrogating the binary between public and private space in literature and film to discourse analysis in political rhetoric, and from interpreting gendered analogies in architecture, geography and environmental studies to examining the contribution of women in philosophy or the army, this collection of essays brings together a most interesting set of readings that focus both on the changing patterns of national cultures and on the pervasive issue of global and gender inequality. The scholars featured in this volume have employed different methodological tools in an attempt to produce stimulating and creative essays, and while alternative methods can sometimes be suggested, most papers contain up-to-date bibliography which incorporates classical and theoretical arguments from many exciting disciplines. Nearly all the essays included in volume II reflect the tensions between present and past, male and female, tradition and progress, or national and transnational, providing a springboard for further discussion and analysis; if I had to select only a handful, I would probably pick Ruxandra Boicu's exploration of the notion of feminine ethos in politics, or Anca-Luminiţa Iancu's examination of postfeminist paradigms in 21st century film. And while it has to be conceded that, for some of the essays in the above volume, the emphasis on globalization is not always evident, the fact remains that we have a corpus of scholarly work which urges us to rethink a substantial number of our commonly held assumptions with respect to gender in contemporary society, and that the range and scope of this

scholarship is both insightful and impressive. For all these reasons, I am convinced that the second volume of *Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization* will be of particular interest to students and instructors of many disciplines across the humanities and social sciences, and hope that it will stand as an important addition to an inspiring intellectual territory.

VOLUME III

ISBN: 978-1-935494-40-9 (252 p.)

MARIANGELA ALBANO
albanomariangela@gmail.com
Université de Palerme;
Université de Bourgogne
GAETANO SABATO
gaetano.sb@tin.it
Université de Palerme

Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization est un vaste projet culturel développé à partir de la conférence internationale du même nom qui a eu lieu à Bucarest en juin 2011 et s'intéresse tout particulièrement aux dynamiques de genre de l'époque contemporaine. Des spécialistes de 36 pays ont contribué, dans leurs diverses disciplines, à cet ouvrage en dix volumes. Le troisième volume, rédigé par Mihăilă, Oktapoda et Honicker, se consacre à deux thématiques principales dans une société connotée par des dynamiques globalisantes: les représentations du genre dans la publicité, dans la télévision et dans la technologie, et les représentations du corps masculin et féminin.

La première contribution, «Gendered Advertising – Shaping Self-Image to Visual Ads Exposure» de Epure et Vasilescu, est dédiée à la construction du genre dans la publicité. Les auteurs se focalisent sur la réponse de genre à la communication visuelle, sur l'impact du langage et de la culture dans la publicité et, enfin, sur la représentation du soi comme résultat aux réactions émotives et/ou rationnelles à la communication promotionnelle. Les conclusions des auteurs sont que la publicité agit à travers des représentations stéréotypées connectées au genre qui peuvent avoir des effets négatifs sur le public (par exemple l'obsession de la maigreur) et qui peuvent conduire à des réponses pathologiques comme l'anorexie et, par conséquent, le public à la frustration. Si le modèle masculin s'adapte à beaucoup de rôles, l'utilisation du corps féminin semble plus cantonnée à la vente de produits de beauté, lingerie et produits pour la maison. Cela amène, selon les auteurs, à la vision d'une société patriarcale qui nie la complexité de la société contemporaine. Une utilisation consciente, selon les auteurs, des publicitaires qui construisent leur communication sur la base des genres.

Dans «My Missus …': An Essay on British Comedy and Gender Discourses» Heath présente une réflexion sur la dynamique des genres à travers une étude des changements à l'intérieur de la comédie anglaise des années '40 jusqu'à la fin du XXème siècle. Pour étayer son travail, il sélectionne une série de brèves performances (enregistrées pour la radio et pour la télévision ou tirées de films), en particulier des sketches interprétés par des hommes, ou des individus qui représentent le genre «traditionnellement» dominant et qui se présentent comme hétérosexuels. Les performances de certains acteurs comiques comme Max Miller, Monty Python, le groupe The carry On Team, Les Dawson sont analysées dans l'étude de la composition des rôles fondée sur le genre. Cette analyse met en lumière une ambivalence: d'une part, on note une participation croissante des femmes et de ce fait, une égalité des genres grandissante; d'autre part, il y a une conservation des rôles dans la comédie traditionnelle anglaise qui remonte aux années '40.

Dans ce volume, des auteurs s'intéressent plus particulièrement aux *social networks* et au rôle qu'ils jouent dans la différentiation et dans la représentation du genre.

Reza Jarvandi analyse dans «Presenting Muslim Gender of the Internet: The Study of Presenting Iranian Muslim Youth on Facebook» les influences réciproques des dynamiques de genre et de religion dans la construction des identités virtuelles sur «Facebook».

En s'appuyant sur le modèle dramaturgique de Goffman, récemment repris par Elder-Jubelin, Birnbaum et Leonardi dans leurs travaux sur l'autoprésentation (et l'autoreprésentation) des usagers de Facebook, Jarvandi porte son attention sur les usagers iraniens de Facebook. Il observe cinquante profils d'usagers iraniens en considérant les photos utilisées, les informations qui sont partagées et les mises à jour du statut. Trente de ces usagers (hommes et femmes de 15 à 30 ans) ont été interviewés pour comprendre les processus mentaux qui président au développement de leur identité et à leur représentation sur la toile soit le rôle que joue la religion dans cette représentation. Il en ressort que les utilisateurs ne se préoccupent ni des normes religieuses ni des normes sociales dans la vie réelle lors de leur représentation *online*. Facebook permettrait donc de redéfinir frontières et règles, brisant la barrière du genre, le sexe devenant neutre. En outre, l'auteur affirme que si on considère qu'en Iran la religion joue un rôle crucial dans la définition des relations humaines, Facebook a influencé les modalités à travers lesquelles se déroulent ces relations car hommes et femmes peuvent participer de manière similaire aux *social networks* en exprimant ouvertement leur sentiments et états d'âme plus que dans le monde réel. L'auteur a noté aussi que la vitesse du développement de Facebook en Iran n'a pas permis l'affirmation d'une «netiquette» partagée où

peuvent converger les informations liées à la religion. Enfin, la préoccupation majeure des usagers interviewés concerne les photos visibles publiquement ce qui implique la création de deux profils: un public et un privé.

D'autres auteurs se sont intéressés au sujet, tentant de comprendre les problématiques à l'intérieur des *social networks*. Dans «New Media and Youth: Differences in the Use of Social Network Sites between Young Men and Women Users» Aktaş, Akyol, Kartal et Gürel ont étudié l'usage de Facebook sur la base du genre. Ils ont utilisé une méthodologie statistique (collecte et élaboration des donnés par le software SPSS) sur une population étudiante dans les écoles secondaires publiques en Turquie. Les résultats montrent que les garçons utilisent beaucoup plus Facebook que les filles. Un autre aspect intéressant est que pour une petite partie des garçons, il est impensable de passer une journée sans une connexion au *social network*, tandis que cela ne semble pas indispensable pour les filles. Les filles paraissent plus intéressées par leur nombre d'amitiés virtuelles contrairement aux garçons. De plus, 90% de garçons n'a jamais rencontré réellement ses contacts tandis que les filles sont plus sélectives, elles n'acceptent pas les demandes d'amitié des personnes qu'elles ne connaissent pas.

Pacea consacre son article «Are We Really Wor(l)ds Apart? On Gender, Genre and Language Use in Blogs» à la corrélation entre langage et langue dans le domaine des blogs *online*. L'auteur a considéré un corpus de 2.521 textes, environ 600.000 mots, collectionnés entre janvier et juin 2008 par vingt auteurs de blogs roumains, dix hommes et dix femmes. Ces données ont été analysées par un *software* en vue de déterminer une typologie des répétitions. Il émerge que le genre a une place considérable dans l'écriture des blogs. En effet, parmi les auteurs (femmes et hommes) il y a des tendances à préférer ou écarter certaines caractéristiques linguistiques. L'auteur conclut que, sur la base de l'interaction entre langage et genre, il n'est pas possible d'attribuer des styles typiquement masculins ou féminins par contre, on peut affirmer que certaines préférences s'avèrent partagées. Généralement, elles sont connectées à l'héritage traditionnel des genres littéraires.

Dans «A Specific Conceptual Approach to Meaning and Comprehension in Modern Print Advertising» Florescu se concentre sur la notion de la valeur et sur le signifié de la production publicitaire sur papier. Elle délimite les notions de «spécifique» et de «moderne» en prenant en considération la théorie des espaces mentaux de Fauconnier et la théorie des espaces conceptuels de Gärdenfors. De plus, elle cherche à comprendre le signifié de «compréhension» pour intégrer la théorie de la pertinence de Sperber et Wilson. L'auteur relève les différences fondamentales entre la publicité moderne et la publicité postmoderne: la première, basant son efficacité sur son pouvoir de persuasion, pousse les consommateurs à l'achat de produits en exaltant leur valeur; la deuxième, les oriente plus largement, elle se base

sur une stratégie de séduction qui propose des styles de vie aux «citoyens globaux». Dans chacune de ces publicités, l'efficacité dépend des procédures de compréhension. Enfin, l'auteur affirme que les différences de genre ne doivent pas être considérées comme déterminantes dans l'orientation des consommateurs.

La dimension télévisée apparaît en ce qui concerne les cas spécifiques en Turquie pour observer la communication de masse. On la trouve d'abord dans «The Humorous Role of Television: The Example of Sit-Coms Sample Program» de Can et Uğurlu. Sur la base des études de Taflinger, Feuer et Grote, l'article appuie l'importance de la télévision et de sa diffusion dans la vie quotidienne et les implications qu'elle a dans les dynamiques du développement économique et social. Les auteurs analysent notamment les «Situation-Comedies» en les considérant comme des produits humoristiques et en observant leurs changements d'un point de vue socio-culturel. Can e Uğurlu tracent une histoire des *sit-coms* en identifiant leur origine dans les programmes radiophoniques des années '30 et '50. Il se trouve qu'en Turquie les thématiques proposées par les fictions ont changé au fil du temps car elles ont répondu à de nouvelles exigences sociales et culturelles du public. Dans cette optique, la famille semble toujours au centre de la narration et reflète les systèmes de représentation des rôles des femmes et des hommes.

Dans leur article «Television Genres. A Case Study: Marriage Programs», Apaydin, Koca et Aytas examinent les programmes télévisés turcs dédiés au mariage. À travers la perspective de Bauman et McLuhan et les approches de Postman et Sennet, les auteurs essayent de comprendre la grande influence de la télévision sur le public et de décrire la typologie des programmes télévisés en Turquie. Ils découvrent que l'espace télévisé consacré aux mariages est limité dans les télévisions turques, même si les demandes de participation à ce genre de programmes s'élèvent à 4000 par jour. Sur la base de l'approche de Köse, les auteurs affirment que l'attention portée à ce genre de programmes indique des difficultés dans la vie réelle. Cela semble aller à l'encontre de l'émancipation féminine. On voit bien que ces genres de programmes mettent «en scène» des ritualités et des mythes (comme celui du «prince bleu») plus accessibles aux individus qui, dans la vie quotidienne, rencontrent de plus en plus de difficultés au niveau de la communication et s'enfoncent dans la solitude.

Dans «What Does the Internet Feed On?» Bacalu analyse certains changements de la langue anglaise. Le travail de Bacalu se focalise sur un phénomène sociologique, la *Netspeak*, une langue ni écrite ni parlée, une espèce de langage typique de l'Internet, qui ajoute environ 10.000 nouveaux mots par an. L'auteur affirme que le web ne représente pas la mort des langues bien au contraire, il se configure comme un milieu propice à l'en-

richissement linguistique. Cela ne se passe pas seulement pour l'anglais: une observation du même type sur d'autres langues a montré qu'elles évoluent d'une façon similaire. Les langages, qu'ils soient formels ou informels, enrichissent la *Netspeak* et les options linguistiques à disposition.

L'article de Sandra Marcoci «Advertising Discourse and the Use of Rhetorical Figures» tend à faire comprendre les stratégies rhétoriques du discours publicitaire par une perspective linguistique et sémiotique. À travers des exemples tirés de plusieurs annonces publicitaires, l'auteur fait une classification en quatre catégories: les figures des mots ou la diction, les figures de la signification, les figures de la construction et les figures de la pensée. L'analyse montre qu'une description euphorique d'un produit génère une force persuasive et crée des associations avec des images généralisées et des stéréotypes.

Dans la deuxième partie du volume, intitulée «The Fe/Male Body under Dark or Light Shadows», les réflexions des auteurs mènent à décrire la représentation du corps féminin et masculin. Le travail «Corps féminin et représentations touristiques: le cas des placards publicitaires des vacances en croisière» de Albano et Sabato vise à montrer les représentations du corps féminin dans six placards publicitaires de compagnies de croisières (Costa, VVS, Royal Caribbean). D'une part, l'approche linguistique et sémiotique constitue un moyen pour analyser les stratégies qui jouent un rôle fondamental dans le déclenchement du désir pour des destinations touristiques. D'autre part, l'approche anthropologique permet d'examiner la fonction de la sexualité féminine à travers l'image d'un corps bronzé et dénudé en mettant en évidence des questions symboliques. Les résultats de l'analyse ont montré que la façon de représenter le corps féminin est duplice: d'un côté, séduisante et désirable (quand la femme apparaît seule); de l'autre côté, fragile et complémentaire de l'autre (à l'égard de la présence masculine). En outre, le destinataire-femme a la possibilité de s'identifier avec les images des placards. Différemment, le destinataire-homme lie les vacances à l'imaginaire de la conquête sexuelle.

La deuxième approche dans le débat du corps féminin est celle de Jill Yen qui, dans son étude «The Body Matters: Nationalism and American Sex Tourism in Postcolonial Taiwan», montre une vision du corps ancrée dans la vision de Foucault. Dans cette optique, le corps représente le lieu où les relations politiques et de pouvoir sont incarnées. Yen aborde la thématique du corps des femmes prostituées en Taiwan pendant la période postcoloniale en analysant les reportages de deux journaux «United Daily» et «China Times». L'auteur analyse les commentaires des forces de l'ordre américaines et il en ressort que, dans l'imaginaire culturel, les corps féminins ne sont pas seulement un moyen de plaisir sexuel ni des produits de

l'échange économique mais un commutateur politique où convergent les intérêts d'une nation.

L'article «Human Trafficking in a Globalized World: Gender Aspects of the Issue and Anti-trafficking Politics» de Kim Anh Duong est également fondé sur l'étude du genre. À partir de la problématique du trafic humain dans le monde, l'auteur en examine les aspects dans le Vietnam d'aujourd'hui. Les femmes et les enfants sont les principales victimes de la prostitution, l'exploitation dans les auberges, les bars ou les restaurants, la vente des billets de la loterie ou le cirer des chaussures. De plus, l'analyse faite par les politiques sur le trafic humain abordée par le gouvernement vietnamien à partir du 1986 a montré que, même si le gouvernement a mené une politique sensible à la problématique du genre, les femmes, à cause de leur situation sociale, sont sujettes au risque du trafic humain. En effet, même si certains aspects de la globalisation ont contribué à créer des procès d'égalitarisme, les femmes souffrent de la tension entre le libéralisme économique et les traditions culturelles qui les placent dans une condition subordonnée.

Un autre apport de la perspective féminine de ce volume est l'article «Professional Perception of the Harassment of Women in the Work Places and of its Impact on Well-being» de Rizwana Yousaf. L'auteur veut montrer comment sont perçus les harcèlements faits aux femmes dans les lieux de travail et les effets sur le développement personnel des femmes. La recherche, de nature statistique, a été développée au Pakistan sur une population de 160 sujets, médecins, enseignants, infirmiers, banquiers et avocats. Les sujets femmes et hommes ont répondu à un questionnaire écrit où ils devaient choisir parmi plusieurs typologies (menaces téléphoniques, assauts physiques, commentaires sur l'aspect physique, siffler, pincer, fixer le regard, donner des tapes, dommages à la propriété, *stalking*) selon leur propre conception du harcèlement et sur les aspects dévastés de la vie des femmes. Bien qu'il y ait plusieurs résultats et perspectives d'analyse, nous pouvons affirmer que les femmes sont touchées d'un point de vue émotionnel, professionnel et psychologique et qu'elles ont des difficultés à dénoncer les actes d'harcèlement. Enfin, les plus sensibles semblent être les infirmiers et les avocats parce qu'ils sont souvent en contact avec des femmes qui portent plainte.

Le travail de Scipione «Federico Andahazi. A la busca de la sede del amor y del placer» traite de la construction du genre dans la littérature contemporaine. L'auteur analyse les modalités par lesquelles l'écrivain argentin Federico Andahazi construit son discours-étude sur la sexualité en prenant en considération six romans: la trilogie «Pecar como Dios manda», «Argentina con pecado concebida», «Pecadores y pecadoras»; le célèbre «El anatomista»; «El secreto de los flamencos»; «Las piadosas». Scipione observe que pour Andahazi il est intéressant d'étudier soit l'évolution de

l'identité nationale argentine au niveau sexuel, soit l'évolution de la sexualité dans le monde par la fiction narrative. L'œuvre de Andahazi devient une clé de lecture utile pour comprendre l'essence d'un pays par les relations entre sexualité et vie sociale. Dans cette optique, Scipione affirme que l'écrivain, surtout dans le volume «Pecadores y pecadoras», fait une enquête sur les liens entre la sexualité et la politique à travers l'étude de l'histoire royale d'Argentine.

Le présent volume propose aussi des études portant sur un vaste ensemble de types psychanalytiques. Rodica Matei, par exemple, dans son article «Féminité et signifiants corporels dans le fonctionnement addictif» montre le mécanisme de l'«addiction» qui se produit chez les patients pendant les thérapies avec les psychanalystes. À travers l'examen du rôle des signifiants dans l'évolution de la psyché, l'auteur reconstruit la problématique de l'addiction et soulève que ce comportement est fondamental pour s'assurer le sentiment d'identité. Plus spécifiquement, le patient, pour suppléer au manque des soins maternels, veut créer un état nouveau pour élaborer un corps séparé et pour ré-établir son identité. Toutefois, le comportement addictif et le manque conséquent de liaison entre le corps et la psyché conduit vers la dépression et un risque psychosomatique.

Observer et comprendre la psyché est aussi le but de l'article «La représentation du féminin dans le système poétique de Nichita Stănescu» de Rodica Matei. Dans cette analyse psychanalytique, l'auteur montre la représentation ambivalente des femmes dans certains poèmes du roumain Nichita Stănescu. Au début, le poète intègre le monde féminin à sa poésie, puis il crée une scission marquée par la désintégration, la trahison et la haine et, enfin, il trouve les éléments pour se réunir au féminin. Cependant, cette union qui voit une présence féminine effrayante dans le corps du poète le conduit à vouloir se séparer de sa propre chair. Selon Matei, l'image de la femme et du corps du poète vont vers la mort de la même manière que le refus de la langue maternelle et même des mots écrits.

La présence mortifère de la femme est le sujet de l'article «La femme et la mort. Interférences psychanalytiques sur la féminité mortifère» de Matei Georgescu. L'auteur explore l'image de la femme dans la littérature psychanalytique à partir d'un commentaire sur un rêve d'angoisse de Freud. Matei comprend que la cause de l'angoisse décrite par Freud relève d'un désir œdipien qui trouve son origine dans la puissance maternelle. Au niveau onirique, cette puissance naît de l'association entre l'image de la mère endormie et celle de la femme morte. Etant un symbole de destruction, la femme peut désintégrer l'intégrité de l'homme. Un autre aspect analysé par l'auteur est l'analogie entre l'angoisse de la mort et celle de la castration. Comme la «mort-femme» est toujours représentée avec un outil qui coupe,

alors la castration peut aussi être conçue comme la perte de l'intégrité du moi.

Une reprise de la thématique des études de genre est visible dans l'article «L'autre du corps et l'autre de l'esprit. Abdellah Taïa, L'Armée du salut» de Alexandru Matei. À travers une approche culturelle, l'auteur montre le procès de subjectivisation de l'écrivain-narrateur marocain Abdellah Taïa dans son roman formatif «L'Armée du salut». Le procès de subjectivisation passe par plusieurs degrés: d'abord, l'écrivain profite du milieu culturel et de l'influence de son frère; après la découverte de son corps et son homosexualité, il commence à refuser la structure traditionnelle de sa famille. Enfin, il part en Suisse où il peut se renouveler parce qu'il est libre de vivre une histoire d'amour et a la possibilité d'assumer ses choix intellectuels.

VOLUME IV

ISBN: 978-1-935494-41-6 (213 p.)

ANNE SORONEN
asoronen@uva.fi
University of Vaasa

The fourth volume's two subtitles are "The Increasing Dimension of Media Gender Representation" and "Gender Studies in the Context of Globalization." The editors of the volume are Ramona Mihăilă, Efstratia Oktapoda and Nancy Honicker. The first part of the volume casts light mainly on the national contexts of media representations and gender stereotypes. The topics include representations of women athletes in Turkish media, gender stereotypes in advertising targeted to children, imagery of women politicians and successful women in Romanian press, representations of violence in Canadian and Romanian newspapers, traditions of Romanian Roma people and their image in the reportage of local newspapers, and gender and class in home makeover shows on Finnish television. The articles offer manifold views on recurrent representations and discourses on certain groups of people in contemporary media. One of the articles focuses on differences in online usage between Romanian women and men by analyzing two studies conducted in 2010 and 2011 by marketing and new media research companies. Generally speaking, argumentation in the first part of the book is good, and the authors contextualize their topics and provide justified interpretations of the data. However, in a few articles the analysis is fairly facile. In these cases, a more in-depth analysis would have required better use of the most recent international academic research and a more detailed description of the methodology used.

The topics in the section on globalization are broader in scope than those addressed the first part of the volume. The articles concern, among other things, the change of intimate relationships in late modern societies, the globalization of gender in contemporary Serbian women's writing, the position of young women in both Jane Austen's novels and EU documents on equality, the use of digital communication in the world of global business, the discourses of national, post-Soviet and pro-European identities in the Republic of Moldova, gender in organizational discourses and managerial practices, and Plato's argumentation on gender equality. Many of the articles provide well-argumented perceptions on overlaps between global and local questions in specific contexts. Quite often, the focus is more on gender equality than on the broad-ranging and elusive effects of globalization. Unfortunately, in some articles the authors seem to assume that their readers share their understanding of globalization as a phenomenon as they fail to define the concept or give reasons for its importance for their research topic.

As a whole, the forth volume of the conference proceedings constitutes an interesting offering of discussions on gender, media and globalization. The first part of the volume illustrates from different angles how contemporary media representations produce perceptions and evaluations of gender. The focus in the second part is more on the historical, sociological and economic aspects of gender equality and women's position in society. Despite the many fruitful studies presented in the volume, the overall impression remains fragmented due to the diversity of topics and the varying structures of the articles. The proceedings include some articles in which the use of references on the whole is limited. Furthermore, in some other articles, references are summarized fairly abundantly, but they are not used in an analytical way. In addition, the titles of the articles as well as the research topics addressed are in many cases very broad in relation to the length of the articles. All in all, the volume offers a multivoiced overview on media and globalization, aspects so strongly present in our everyday lives.

VOLUME V

ISBN: 978-1-935494-42-3 (216 p.)

ZOI ARVANITIDOU
zoi_ar@hotmail.com
University of the Aegean,
Mytilini, Lesvos Island

Volume V *Gender Studies in the Age of Globalization* is the 5th Proceedings Conference volume of the homonymous conference which took place in Bucharest, Romania, from the 2nd of June 2011 until the 3rd of June 2011. The editors of the Volume are Ramona Mihăilă, Efstratia Oktapoda

and Nancy Honicker and it is divided into two main chapters: a) Gender-related Issues form Psychological and Social Perspectives and b) Gender Construction through Stereotypical Discursive, Social and Educational Practices.

Gender studies started along women's history by anthropologists in the early 1970s. "Women" were considered an ecumenical category and were studied against the other ecumenical category, "men," as far as their hierarchical relationship to one another. After 1980, the anthropology and the history of women have been replaced by the history of gender that deconstructs the categories of "men" and "women," believing that their meaning is altered by the historical and social context. For this reason, the history of gender studies these two categories taking into account the parameters of ethnicity, social class, sexuality, etc. Targets of gender studies were the understanding of the social roles of the two sexes, the reproduction of stereotypes about men and women, the way of their promotion by the media, the detection of perceptions of people (especially of the young people) about those roles, the outline of the model of the modern woman and the political equality of the various states and of the European Union. A significant role in the expansion of gender studies was played by the Europeans Union's interest to increase the economically active population with the participation of women in the labor market. This resulted to the funding of undergraduate, postgraduate and research programs regarding gender studies and equality which feminists who work at the various universities utilized. Included in a lot of these results are the proposals and presentations of this well organized conference. Because the main objectives of the papers are different in terms of subjects it was considered appropriate to report on each article separately and with great brevity.

The first part is named "Gender-related Issues from Psychological and Social Perspectives" and includes ten (10) articles while the second part called "Gender Construction through Stereotypical Discursive, Social and Educational Practices" includes another ten (10).

As far as the first part is concerned:

The first article titled "Perception et Stereotype de Genre Social" addresses and detects the issue of whether the representatives of the female gender continue to describe the political field in male terms and emphasizes on the idea that their correlations are not in close relation with the gender, but they present themselves as probabilistic expressions.

The authors of the second paper under the title "Diversity Management, Gender Approach to Guidance and Counseling" point out that the gender provides the diversity management principles on gender perspective in guidance and counseling.

In the next article titled "The Victimization of Women in Family Space" the violence in the family is explored as a social reality and this type of violence is examined under interpersonal inner and societal factors. These factors are represented by the neighborhood, the community and the culture, as well as the economic, politic and legislative system.

In the article under the name "Role Playing from the Vantage Point of Gender," the issues of gender identity in Romania are determined and ways to improve the gendered nature of interactions in school are suggested and the relationship between ethics and gender is discussed.

In the "Correlations between Cognitive Decline and the Variables of Age, Gender and Level of Education in Dementia" article, the authors try to present whether dementia is influenced by different factors and the basic one of them is the gender of educational level among the individuals.

The next article has the title "Looking at Medusa: Television as a Modern Era's Visual Power Tool and its Role on Children's Socialization." It addresses the effect of television on viewers of all ages (especially the children).

The author of the article titled "Patriarchal Vs Non-Patriarchal Explorations of Feminine Traits" considers that during the last years the social interest has shifted from masculine to feminine. The author attributes and discusses the patriarchal perspectives on femininity and she presents the different types of discourse concerning feminine qualities approaching them analogically rather than digitally.

In the next article under the name "On Men and Women in the Family Constellations Method" the family constellations method, that was created by Bert Hellinger, is presented and the author points out that men and women have well established gendered roles and interactions which are based on the pacific principles named "Orders of Love" by Hellinger and when somebody follows them, he or she will find harmony, balance, respect and love among the members of his/her family.

The article under the name "Rôles et Attitudes dans la Famille Contemporaine" is based on the assumption that modern society changes the solid foundation of the family giving to it new roles and destinations and examines the problems of the family in contemporary society. Its author concludes that the urban area is dominated by the restructuring of the family. Family life is more individualized and democratized as it is influenced by the dynamics of society.

In the last article "The Structure of Personal Safety in Preadolescents" the author believes that when little girls become preadolescents, they have to make different decisions and their personal safety will acquire some differential criteria and this process is marked by the gender type. A psychological research is performed, revealing the features of personal safety in

40 preadolescents from urban environments and 41 preadolescents from rural environments. The results of data analysis showed the different way in which the personal safety is structured in preadolescent girls from rural and urban environments.

As far as the second the part is concerned:

In the first one, under the name "Genre des Noms de Métiers en Français et en Roumain," the job titles are examined from a Romanian-French contrastive perspective. The author insists on trade names as a feminization of society that has led to changes in the language. Also, the differences between French and Romanian regarding the gender indication as a grammatical category are examined with focus mainly on trade names.

In the article titled "The Mediating Role of Work–Family Conflict (WFC) in the Relationship between Boundary, Control and Burn Out among Young Mothers," the author considers that the mediating role indexed by permeability, flexibility and burn out among mothers of young children, who were examined. Participants were 141 mothers with a mean age of 34.8 years and came from dual-career families. Permeability was positively correlated with WFC and burn out, while flexibility had a negative association with WFC and burn out.

The authors of the "The Importance and Necessity of Folklore Gender Studies" believe that through contact with folk creation, young male and female kindergarten students and first grades of elementary school can learn about morals, traditions, beliefs, practices and attitudes of traditional community's inhabitants. So, students are able to broaden their knowledge and information about the treasures of folk tradition and its creators and to connect, albeit unintentionally, with the social and topical history of their country. The study focused on the contribution of the analytical category of "gender," on the renewal, modernization, and democratization of folklore studies, but also on the dissemination of its instructional intervention for teaching popular culture in kindergarten and first grades of elementary school.

The next article has the title "Gender Equality on Labor Market and Work-Life Balance Policies" and its authors present and analyze the results from a field research that is conducted at national level among the population of legal working age in Romania. The paper aims to measure people's attitudes towards work and the responsibilities of spouses within their families. The results provide important reference points for the Romanian government in developing policies which aim to promote gender equality on labor market.

In the article "Globalization and Social Network Sites," the authors present the European Young Generation's Social and Political Involvement in our days and they examine the issue of European youth's social involve-

ment associating it with the communication technology and the social networks. The young Europeans had profound lack of interest regarding to civic and social issues. Also they have examined if communication technology and social network sites might be used as a tool for increasing young European's involvement in social life.

The article "Metaphorical Gender Stereotypes in Written Medical Discourse" considers that there are a number of dominant metaphors pervasive in medical discourse and the War metaphor being one of them. The author hypothesizes that written medical discourse centering on War metaphor which masculinizes this discourse. The War metaphor reinforces the distinctive traditional gender bias in the social sector.

In the next article "Female Participation in Personal Learning Environments" the author analyses the personal learning environments and the areas of the internet that are used by women, so that they will prose and share information through wikis, blogs and social networks.

The article under the title "Religion and Discrimination against Women" makes a contribution evaluating the conjunction of religion and political formations, the impact of globalization on religious pluralism, the functions that the religious identity presents in the public sphere and the shared national consciousness, preferences and practices as spatial consumption.

The article "Genres du Discours Dialogal: Dialogue et Conversation – Concepts Opérationnels" focuses on the meaning, the rules, the properties, the principles and the phases of dialogue.

The last article of this part has the title "Gender Similarities and Differences in Phenomenology" and the author focuses on Ricoeur's discussion of tradition, self, world and God, synthetic narrative, dialectical method and model of embodied imagination. The purpose of this study is to examine the essentialist character of phenomenology, Husserl's transcendental-philosophical theory of intersubjectivity, his refutation of psychologism as a theory about the foundations of logic and his theory of judgments of existence.

VOLUME VI

ISBN: 978-1-935494-43-0 (249 p.)

NANCY ABWALABA OWANO
nancy.abwalaba5@gmail.com
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

The *Volume VI* opens with the ethnographic research conducted by Mami Yoshimura and Geoffrey Wall that focuses on the indigenous female weavers in Wulai, Taiwan, who experienced the effects of both colonialism and tourism development. The colonial government of Japan banned the Atayal

from engaging in the most important social-cultural activities-facial tattooing, headhunting and weaving. The ban led to the loss of gender identity among the Atayal because facial tattooing symbolized maturity and availability for marriage.

Chuanhong Zhang and Qijie Gao begin their analysis with the observation that the issue of gender has become overwhelming in the literature of migration due to feminization of migrant labor force in China. Female migrants have aroused wide academic interest in the recent past. The family dynamics of migration seem to have received less attention especially the empirical research on rural-urban migration households in China. Heng Wang and Xiao-Yuan Dong talk about China's rural economy that has undergone radical change since the economic reforms that replaced collective firms with the household responsibility system in 1978. In mid 1990s rural-urban migration became a major feature of the Chinese economy as tens of millions of rural workers went to cities in search of jobs. These changes have led to massive shifts of labor out of agriculture into off-firm self-employment and wage earning activities contributing to rapid income growth and dramatic declines in poverty.

Mei-Hsien Lee's project employs the concept of "post colonialism" and "belated modernity" to dialect that in the post-colonial era the state-led modernization project on gender equality in Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia were driven by the elites' sense of "belated modernity" instead of being inspired by a local cultural based "subjectivation" process. Without such a "subjectivation" process "conscientization" (developing consciousness)" (for equality) is impossible for the general public.

Gul Muhammad Baloch talks about Pakistan society that is characterized by considerable economic disparities between different sections of the society as well as by division of caste, tribe, clan and class, being dominated by a feudal and tribal value system with strong patriarchal trends. Baloch has conducted an exploratory study regarding the aspects and factors of female crime with the main objective of exploring the dimensions of crime: personal, socio-economic and demographic details of women prisoners. The results show that the majority of inmates were from rural areas, illiterate, with no independent income source and did not hold decision making positions. Poverty, patriarchy and class based society created women criminals.

In her article, "Gender Dimensions of Seeking Treatment for Infertility in Nigeria," Tolulope Monisola Ola asserts that the quest of infertile women to resolve the problem of infertility has resulted in the patronage of various treatment outlets. The patronage is determined by socio-cultural and behavioral factors which need to be explored in the context of infertility. Many of the socio-cultural and behavioral factors like education polygyny,

religious practices belief systems, income and cultural practices are believed to influence the choice of treatment outlets for infertility leading to poor understanding of the choice of treatment for infertility in the African context.

Nancy Abwalaba Owano talks about gender issues that have continued to play a key role in the formulation of sector wide public policy, world-wide. Thus, in her article "Gender Disparities in Kenya," she says that it is notable that gender gaps in many developing countries remain a challenge in the education sector. The purpose of policies is to guide action towards some identified practical goals; policies lose meaning when they remain unimplemented. Moreover, it is important to understand the process of policy formulation and implementation because it is crucial to the final outcomes. In contemporary education theory and practice, feminist thought provides invaluable direction on gender policies that seek to enhance inclusiveness and equality in education so that it does not discriminate against girls and women or any minority groups.

The article "The Influence of Culture on Gender Inequality in Ekiti State, Nigeria: Implication on Women's Empowerment and Development" authored by Catherine Ajoke Oluyemo asserts that gender inequality is culturally transmitted from generation to generation; the ideology of gender inequality is culturally constructed. Her study was carried out in three Local Government Areas: Ekiti Central, Ekiti South West, and Ekiti West. Data was collected with the use of interview schedule. In another article both Tolulope Ola and Catherine Ajoke Oluyemo analyze the rights of Nigerian women in a patriarchal society

Pierre-Suzanne Eyenga Onana's articles "Journée internationale de la femme et construction des identités au Cameroun : Pressions et expressions d'une 'catégorie vulnérable' dans un contexte de mondialisation," and "Le mariage interracial via internet : Mythe ou contre-utopie à l'ère de la mondialisation ?" talk about women's roles in Cameroonian society, starting with the significance of Women's Day that marked the end of patriarchal era with all the pressures and expressions of a "vulnerable category" in the context of globalization.

At the literary and cultural levels, Monica Garoiu analyzes the condition of African women as reflected in the novels *Une si longue lettre* by Mariama Bâ, and *Tu t'appelleras Tanga* by Calixthe Beyala, and (re)searches for the place of these texts in women's postcolonial African literature and their role: presenting women' destinies and struggles to break the cycle of women's victimization and objectification in African male chauvinist society. In her article, Bouchra Benbella asserts that North African women writers have laid the beacons of a new anti-conformist and traditional way of writing where the woman is no longer a wife, mother, grandmother, sister or lover, but the "masculinized" woman, the woman who disguises

herself as a man, who grabs her rights that have always made her the powerful, hegemonic, phallocentric superior being that deconstructs the myth, one of the core components of male identity. Simplice Demefa Tido argues that Sony Labou Tansi's romantic story *La vie et demie* (*Life and a Half*) is marked by a discourse that gives prominence to the exercise of power, which can involve all kinds of persons, including women. "The latter use their body advantages to substantively influence the nature and the challenge of this power in a social environment is subject to the laws of machismo, the so-called era of globalization."

There is also a section dedicated to Japanese culture, thus Olga Duţu talks about moments in the history of Haiku authors' affirmation since the condition of women in feudal Japanese society explains their shy presence as authors of haiku: a disciple of Bashô-Chigestu Kawai (17th century) and Chivo-ni (18th century). Raluca Nicolae surveys a historical perspective on women's speech in Japanese in the Heian, the Muromachi, and the Edo periods, arguing that in Japanese diachronic linguistics "there are a series of words employed especially by zby women when they referred to food, tableware, fashion, Buddhist ceremonies or to phrases connected to the feminine physiology. In the Heian period, the court ladies' vocabulary pointed at food, etiquette or fashion; in the Muromachi period, the language of nuns was not much different from that of court ladies, while in the Edo period, the language used by courtesans was not exactly the same language employed by townspeople. Alexandra-Marina Gheorghe points at the identity recovered in the land of the *other*, comparing two women writers *Ume Tsuda* and *Ioana Nitobe Garrison.* The first one was eight years old when she was sent to the United States of America. After ten years she came back to Japan and she kept an epistolary diary *The Attic Letters* (1882–1911). Ioana Nitobe Garrison is a contemporary Romanian female writer who soon after graduation she marries a Japanese aristocrat, she moves to Japan and a year or so later she comes back to her home country. Veronica Spiridon argues that "Japanese women's speech is thought to be a clearly defined subset of the Japanese language as a whole. Women's language is held up as the ideal form of female speech, as men's language is for males." Her purpose is to give examples of the way in which Japanese women are conscious of the effects of their speech style and use the appropriate forms, as consistent with the goals they wish to accomplish and the corresponding identities they wish to create.

VOLUME VII
ISBN: 978-1-935494-44-7 (212 p.)

ANGELIKI VASILOPOULOU
angelvassilopoulou@yahoo.com
University of Athens

It is not erratic for someone to be engaged to the impact of the female presence in the field of the Humanities, Philosophy and Feminism. Some evidence, dare we say, of this social struggle was one of the very successful conferences held at Spiru Haret University in Romania. The very theme of the conference revealed its wide range of areas by analyzing gender aspects in the process of globalization, as well as new development theories about gender being transformed up until now in the global village.

The outcome of that conference was astounding: not one or two, but 10 rich volumes of the conference outlining and supporting the significance of the topic. As one leafs through those ten volumes, he observes the various gender issues debated, but also the different subjects questioned in a distinctive way, which brings about another question; that of the rise of new subcategories in the field of Feminism and Gender Studies. Can someone include in the future a new type or types of the Gender Studies in such a way so that it will eventually inflame new methods of investigating gender issues? Since there is no secure answer now, the least one could do is scan thoroughly the 7th Volume which is divided into two sections to seek for questions rather than answers.

Following such an approach will eventually lead one to get the answers he needs regarding "gender intersections" which happens to be the *first section* of this volume. Entitled as "Sexuality, Religion, Race and Discrimination," this section debates issues that regard racial differences and how these parts interact with each other or contain a huge gap. Susanne Hochreiter, talks about the intersectionality troubles in race, class and gender traits and emphasizes on the theoretical concepts of this issue as well as refers to the discussion arousing the working environment in which women face a lot of discouraging issues that actually block their work. She examines the social, religious and political criteria on which intersectionality issues rely on, while focusing on the importance of overcoming those issues in order for a woman to act and react normally within the modern society. Although she does not provide the answers on her article, she surely targets the right questions concerning the inequalities in the social and working environment and strikes the readers' attention on the "what" rather than the "who" is responsible for this issue. The second article, written by Justine Legrand, describes homosexuality according to André Gide and the moral issues that surround homosexuality. The article focuses

on homosexuality issues in the modern society and how they evolve in their social features depending on their effect. What is described as a problem, may not be a problem after some time; this is the outcome of a predictive article that puts homosexuality on the microscope and tries to raise the matter of the social recognition of homosexuality, but also to remind us that what Gide subconsciously did speak prophetically and emerge a new issue, that of the political and social foundations of gender studies.

Furthermore, another writer, this time Nicolas Boutan explores the criteria of subjectivity, especially in the art forms of the gender and analyzes the representations of the sexes in various forms. Does language play some part in it? Are toys e.g. Barbie or Action Man subconsciously imposing new roles and attitudes in the presentations of the sexes in the social environment? These and some more paradigms maintain a straight line in his context revealing a not so human path to gender awareness, the one that involves toys, objects and a more… plastic reality. Thus, Anca Dohotariu is confirming that the roles the previous writer explained are indeed emerging in the modern society as a symptom of a more general crisis in the relationships of the sexes. Her work is more of a study case than that of an analytical method whilst she gives two examples of cultural couples both in Romania and in France. Here we watch unmarried couples in both cities and their reaction to modern living. Do values change their way of living and how does this affect their representations to the outside world? This is an interesting survey, actually, of the know-how of unmarried couples which includes real-time small "confessions" of these couples that eventually helps us shape a picture of how non-conformist couples see the world. The next article signed by Mihaela Franga comments on ambiguous subjects like pedophilia and homosexuality. She discovers the various faces of *Corydon* in Gide's work and gives us a historical look on the specific matter. The subject of pederasty, which remains a very controversial issue in our times-needless to say illegitimate and repulsive for the majority of people as well as the Law, is being observed here according to Andre Gide's work without extending it to an analysis that would hypothetically raise more controversy on this matter. Such a methodology, reminds us more of a philological method than an analytical one since it highlights the Socratic styled dialogues that Gide used in his book.

In addition, Alin Cenan investigates the ways of constructing gender at school and how certain pedagogical methods interact and affect a child's behavior as well as his gender seeing through the eyes of his classmates, whereas his gender behavior is exaggerated in the school environment. In this very interesting analysis, we see the importance of the official curriculum that played a vital role in its relation to the social construction of children, both male and female. The communist education system and its

impact are being evaluated throughout this text while data play an important role on the outcome of this research. The writer concludes that constructing or reconstructing a gender in the school environment is both a crucial as well as determining matter for the future of children later on in their lives. As we proceed to our exploration in gender matters throughout this very beautiful volume, we cannot but read another interesting approach in identity matters written by Mehdi Dehghani. The article challenges the reader this time, in matters of religion. The position of Afro-American people in the contemporary world facing modern racism is one of the issues studied in the specific article. The basis of this analysis starts with an inspiration brought by *The Color Purple*. Do people still focus on behavioral aspects of the gender or is it religion that plays a dynamic role as to how they will behave later on? This article aims at revealing the relationship between gender and religion, esp. Christianity and Pantheism and how it affected the cosmos of Afro-American people. Another book, this time the novel *La Gradiva*, discusses a Pompeian fantasy seen through the eyes of psychology. Sexual identity and idealization play a significant role in this rather soothing article. The article inspects the novel taking careful steps, while trying to throw the dice and reveal dark and mysterious questions that embrace the sexual behaviors of the characters of the novel, notes being made on Freudian approaches in love matters, possession, as well as images of virginity and sin fulfills the whole article with an attractive language that can travel the reader in past times. Another characteristic of gender roles that has survived from the past up until now is the patriarchic type of families and couples. The writer of the article, which ends the first section of the volume, is written by Alina Buzarna-Tihenea-Galbeaza, stresses on the structure of the patriarchal type of relationships by how it is described in the novel *The Cement Garden* and presents certain forms of the male stereotype and its relation to sexuality.

The second section of the Volume deals with "Feminism in a Transnational Context" inquiring mainly into the social, national and economic conditions under which feminism evolves. To start with, Angeliki Vasilopoulou analyses the famous phrase of Simone de Beauvoir "*One is not born a woman but becomes one*." In this article I analyze the conditions that characterize a woman's choices in life from the minute she was born. Either parental, social, economic or personal, the choices of a woman define her roles in her older life and stigmatize her future, sometimes an irreversible one. In manly-made society women tend to reflect their own choices to other people, whether that is their husband, their family or social circle. The article concludes that being a woman is after all a choice or, to put it with emphasis, a contract and not just a biological accident. But how does this woman survive in academia? Sűmeyra Buran Yilmaz examines the

academic issues a modern woman faces and reconsiders her roles in Margaret Drabble's *Millstone*. The article debates issues of the feminist ideology, especially the one that relates to maternity and the obstacles a woman faces in the contemporary world. Is academic life compatible to the family life and how does the patriarchal representatives block the combination of these two roles?

Another brief yet interesting issue is presented by Mădălina Epure; that of combating female oppression by society. She examines the socialist and Marxist backgrounds of the revolutionary feminist movement and the differences among the political dimensions that clarify feminism, whereas that is the liberal, the radical and the socialist movement. Furthermore, Diana-Georgiana Dumbrăvescu talks about the impact of some distinguished authors, such as Carmen Laforet. She highlights certain aspects of her biography that steam out the best of a woman author contribution not only to literary activity, but also to her struggle for women rights. Moreover, Alice Iancu from Romania with her article entitled "Romanian feminist strategies and the European Union: looking for a specific path," discusses about the European Union's policies concerning women's rights. The articles aims at presenting the changes held and development made since Romania became a part of the European family and the difficulties faced by Romanian feminists.

Is feminism, after all, a political matter or is it a combination of aspects e.g. social, economic or parental that make feminism such an ambiguous aspect even in our days? Ioana Vrabiescu talks about gender politics and how Romania stresses its own agenda to the international arena. In this article we see the role of the international civil society and the interests for democratization shared with feminist matters. Gender politics both historically and politically played an important role to what women cope with today and this view brings out a fine and thorough analysis of this issue. On the other hand, Ecaterina Pătrașcu focuses on the diverse woman typology as it is presented in the work of Salman Rushdie *The Enchantress of Florence*. This charming reference to the various roles of women from prostitute to wife and from queen to worker, inflame a subject that needs a closer look. The "illustration of the female hypostasis" is either seen with prejudice or via other means and it is explored within her analytic text. Moreover, Alexandra Sirghi discusses about the usage of the linguistic norm in the public sphere as well as the sociological theories which strengthen the roles of men and women in society. This idea brings about another; that of postfeminism and its force inside the modern societies debated by Andreea Molocea. Her article entitled "West/East side story. Questions on Third Wave of Feminism" supports the view that postfeminism contributed to the changes been made in modern society as well as to a massive discretization

of feminism and the stereotyped ideas that surround it. Last but not least, the article of Cristina-Georgiana Voicu in her article "Global and Local gender identities at the crossroads of Cultural Hybridity" shows the traditional conceptions developed in and about the matter of gender identity and analyzes the possibilities of creating postnational identities in the global village.

The driving force of *Volume VII* is the blending of various ideas into one theme. This along with the rest of the volumes portraits a wide range of ideas and it becomes a-must guide on Feminism. I could not but propose to any reader who yearns to be intrigued by matters of gender to buy this Volume and explore the numerous sides of gender issues that reveal a not so ordinary interpretation of what has been carved so far in the field of Feminine Studies.

VOLUME VIII

ISBN: 978-1-935494-45-4 (211 p)

DELIA STEFENEL
deliaste@yahoo.com
Panteion University of Social
and Political Sciences, Athens

Volume VIII re-positions the epistemic concepts of masculinity and femininity, providing new insights from interdisciplinary areas, as varied as cultural, social, economic or intra-individual representations.

By offering a wide variety of cross-cultural and cross-spatial approaches of gender meanings, this volume manages to encompass the dichotomy man versus woman from the lenses of nineteen scholars coming from different research fields. Having a bidimensional design, the first part is dedicated to "Reasserting and Reconstructing the Feminine and Masculine," while the second one includes "Gender Representations in a Pluralist Context."

Briefly, section one gathers ideas and research findings on the dyadic construct masculine – feminine treated either diachronically, from prehistoric to nowadays time (Mihaela Minulescu, Petru Lisievici) or from different disciplines such as arts, social economy or cultural studies. In this direction, the cultural significance of these key terms are empirically analyzed in Delia Stefenel's paper on the way people in masculine versus feminine cultures from South-East Europe communicate during conflict, or in Bianca Bogdana Archip and Sever Laurenţiu Sava' article about the specific patterns in the social perception of these two core concepts. In several chapters this dyadic construct has as a point of depart literary texts, e.g.: "Construction et représentation de la masculinité et de la féminité en tant qu'identités dans l'oeuvre de Jacques Chessex" (Otilia-Carmen Cojan);

"An unreliable autodiegetic male narrator in Martin Amis's London fields" (Lorena Mihăeş). Also, the representation of man gains terrain in this section either when related to consumerism (Kazim Tolga Gürel, Nejat Özüpek), to gays' freedom topic (Kazim Tolga Gürel, Serhat Koca), or to the impact of globalization when the case of India is called into question (Rakhi Mehta). There are also relevant articles dedicated to the image of masculinity from a rhetorical construction view (Aurel Cazacu) or from Freud's psychoanalysis optic (Matei Georgescu).

Section two brings together important epistemic issues on the portrayal of gender statement during Romanian post-communist privatization period (Costin Dumitraşcu, Bianca Mitrică, Monica Dumitraşcu, Mădălina-Teodora Andrei), or related to last competences achievement stipulated by National Qualification Framework in Higher Education (Nadia Florea). Several chapters are approaching gender representation at literary level, e.g: "La relación de Don Juan con las mujeres" (Florin Galiş); "The External Person, a 'Procrustean Bed' of the Inner Person – Notes of Applied Psychoanalysis in Decadence Literature" (Claudia Mircescu); "L'anonymat sériel dans les Roumains déracinés de P. Miclau" (Livia Heroiu); "Identitary Constructs in the Central European Novel" (Georgiana Ciobotaru). Furthermore, based on empirical researches, the cartography of gender identity is analyzed either socio-demographically by Elena Păun and by Mirona Vână, Nadia-Elena Văcaru, or from a culturally pluralistic viewpoint (Claudiu D. Butculescu).

Indubitably, all the key concepts debated bring the present volume right up to date issue, making from it a novel and useful tool for interested international scholars and policy makers.

The book is a reference work and an important contribution in the field of gender representation, as it encapsulates new meanings of old concepts and methods surrounding masculinity and femininity across time and disciplines.

VOLUME IX

ISBN: 978-1-935494-46-1 (218 p.)

SILVIA TITA
siltivia@yahoo.ca
University of Michigan

The themes of Volume IX are "Gender(ed) Representations in Music and the Visual Arts" and "Gender Roles in Cinematic" and Theatrical Readings." The volume opens with representations of the visual arts illustrated by Silvia Tita's article about the seventeenth-century funerary monument of the medieval heroine Countess Matilda of Canossa (1046–1115), whose munificent and military deeds led to her fashioning as a paladin of the Church as contemporary stereotypes on gender both emphasized and mar-

ginalized female combatants as exceptional beings. The article examines the visual representation of the martial activity of Countess Matilda when Urban VIII commissioned from Benini a funerary monument in her honor in the period following the Council of Trent, by which the Catholic Church ordered pieces of art to reflect legendary figures in the service of the Church. Styliani Kokkali presents Frida Kahlo, who practiced through her art a challenge and a subversion of sexual identity, from a transnational identity point of view, her *mexicanidad*. As a parallel, the Japanese Yasumasa Morimura *japanized* and globalized *kahloienne* images by appropriating and parodying Kahlo' portraits. This conceptualization of discontinuous identity is inherent in the art project provided by both Kahlo and Morimura. Estella Antoaneta Ciobanu talks about "the ideological under side of the early modern anatomical project of anatomical universality and heroism/exemplarity as male. A comparison with cognate representations in the fine arts suggests the silencing of alternative, female, models of exemplarity lest the patriarchal grounding of the anatomical science be shaken, as well as pointing to the early modern epistemological legacy on our own age." For the next article, the discussion moves towards Romanian artists and their work in the age of globalization and Mihaela-Lucia Ion argues that the art critic is the person who assesses artworks exhibited in a gallery and acts as a guide for the inexperienced observer. Odette Arhip talks about one of the Romanian great painters, N. Grigorescu, who dedicated many of his paintings to Romanian country people. She focuses her semiotics approach on a portrait of a young woman, "Rudareasa," and she offers a detailed analysis including: the circumstances which generated the painting, the type of painting, contiguity with others painters' portraits, the analysis of all kinds of dichotomies, chromatic presentation, vanishing point, visual axes, the antinomy light-shadow, symbolic implications, meanings related to mythology, history, Bible, literature, music.

The next two articles approach music configurations in society, Luminiţa Pogăceanu tries to offer a deeper understanding of music's indeterminacy of meaning, the experience of listening to music, and perception of emotional expression encoded within musical parameters. Cătălina Moisescu's findings show a strong correlation between the neural mechanisms of music-syntactic processing, the mechanics of piano playing, and the kind of consciousness associated with attending to music, and the social functions of music, the form of interactive musical behaviors, and music functions as a framework for social and intentional action. Simona Galaţchi's article is a gender approach to the texts that accompany the contemporary Gipsy music in Romania, the so-called, derived from a Turkish term, "manele." The corpus of her study has been constituted of the texts on eight different audio records, belonging to different authors.

Barbara A. Nelson compares Charlotte Bronte's treatment of female identity in *Jane Eyre* – a work often credited with being the first to externalize the female schizophrenic split so pervasive in the Victorian era – with Darren Aronofsky's portrayal of the identity drawn in the *Black Swan*. George Volceanov argues that Shakespeare translations in Communist Romania were appropriated while self-censorship, bowdlerization, and misleading prefaces, commentaries and reviews contributed to the invention of a "Shakespeare for all people" in the light of Marxist-Leninist ideology. As a case study he presents Maria from *Twelfth Night* and the impact a distorted translation could have on the stage-history of this comedy in the past five decades. Sara Moldoveanu shifted the discussion about Shakespeare announcing that *King Lear* encompasses certain themes, motifs and ideas that are characteristic and anticipatory features for the Theatre of the Absurd. Eugene Nulman brings into attention the representation of women in popular Hollywood films as they have an important impact on cultural ideas of gender, sexuality as they concern the role of women in the public and private spheres. He examines the top box office films since 1990s to the present and explores the characteristics women characters have in the film and look at the potential that representation has in a context of cultural globalization.

Mihaela Chapelan explains how Marie Ndiaye uses writing as a means to retrace the history of identity dispossession, which reveals a disturbing ambiguity for the moral and intellectual comfort of the reader / viewer while she is talking about *Hilda*, her first play, where she once again explores the complex and elusive identity in modern society while she develops a troubling question about the importance of female identity markers. Elena Prus interprets the myth of Paris as a cumulative neo-myth by linking several myths already discussed (Paris, the biblical Eve, Narcissus, Bonaparte, Don Juan, the fatale woman), from which it borrows its components. Alina Boboc talks about the male characters of the nineteenth century Romanian boulevard comedy, strongly influenced by the French Comedy, are more likely than women and they can be grouped according to social criteria, more functional than for female characters that are often without a social occupation or whose social status does not count. Elena-Alina Grecu analyzes Ion Luca Caragiale's comedies with a focus on *O noapte furtunoasă* (*A Stormy Night*) which is interpreted as a family game of honor. The comedy presents a number of representative typologies with their own clearly defined characteristics, especially the way they use inappropriate language or distort communication.

Faruk Uğurlu, Kadir Yalçin, and Ruhi Gul try to illustrate the relation of Turkish literature and cinema and to discuss the literary adaptations and the linguistic changes that may happen since the moment a book is adapted

into a movie. The authors mention the fact that most of the Turkish movies have a literary work as background. Silviu Şerban and Aniţa Grigoriu analyze the aspects of feminism in post-revolutionary Iranian Cinema as a result of the political changes of the 1979 revolution that produced important effects on the women's rights. Besides mentioning the fact that the Iranian cinema became visible in the international film festival circuit through male directors at the end of the 1980s, the authors analyze the powerful movies focused on feminist messages belong to female directors.

VOLUME X

ISBN: 978-1-935494-47-8 (198 p.)

CARMEN GHINEA
carmen.ghinea@gmail.com
Spiru Haret University, Bucharest

Volume X is devoted to "Identity Constructions as Reflected in [French, British, American, German, Canadian, Romanian] Literature" and "Faces of Other(Ness), Mystic Journeys and Mythological Figures." The construction of a personal identity has always raised difficulties or problems. In increasingly complex multicultural societies, where the coexistence of languages and cultures shapes the construction of diverse identities, there is a growing need for critical analysis of the processes by which identities are constructed and of the dynamics of multicultural phenomena. That is why we felt necessary to emphasize the importance of a universal human nature and the ability to reason. Women's literature and canon formation have been hampered by women's imposed social position, sex-role stereotypes, and the widespread notion that they are less creative than men. They have had the formidable task of overcoming their role as objects of art and subjects of literature, produced by men, and taking charge of writing about their experiences. Mihaela Hristea's articles illustrate images of women in Heinrich Heine's works, especially in the cycle of poems "Verschiedene" from "Neue Gedichte." By making use of the comparative approach method, Andreea Vlădescu's research identifies and underlines some of the various types of female characters. Their (un)limited life potential and, in the end, their whole greatness of still being modern, is brought into discussion by this study that follows them in the time and space described by French & British novels of the 18th century. Camelia Boarcăş explains why the feminine ethos of Austen's novels, especially *Persuasion*, is primarily located in her view of social life. This view is characterized by a definition of moral life, a concern for the actual and immediate quality of social existence, a belief in human interdependence, and a value for social cooperation and personal adaptability.

The Romanian feminine space of the 19th century was approached by Rodica Ştefan who thinks that in its last two decades, women were largely viewed from a perspective still reminiscent of the romantic dichotomy – either idealized or demonized. The innocent child-women were opposed to the frivolous and concupiscent ones. Silvia Pistol Raşcu's article also talks about the Romanian "(un)gendered" space with a special focus on Nicolae Filimon's *Old and New Upstarts*, a pioneering novel that renders different incipient ways in constructing male and female characters. Talking about feminine poetry, Raluca Burcea analyzes the confessional poetic movement from a linguistic point of view like the extensive use of deictic elements, especially *person deixis*. In this context, the aim of her article is to highlight the relevance of a pertinent linguistic approach to the study of confessional poems with a special focus on Sylvia Plath's *Mirror*. Cristina Nicolaescu's contribution is an attempt at demonstrating the close relationship between gender and human agency as mirrored in the fiction of a renowned feminist writer, in the context of contemporary Canada. Her choice of the topic was determined by the increased interest of gender studies in the Western culture and its revival in Romania. Furthermore, she noticed a scarcity of recent comprehensive criticism of Alice Munro writers on this topic, particularly from this angle. In order to pursue her aims she employed the arguments provided by psychoanalytical feminism. Oana Ursache offers an *Alephic* reading of Laura Esquivel's *Like Water for Chocolate* as she agrees on the fact that food and love can develop a parallel discourse, a mystical communicational system known by the preparer of the food and the eater. Thus "this system replaces words by flavors, sounds by tastes, books by meals. In this scenario, women are not slaves of the kitchen, but pure deities, they are responsible not only of the survival of the group that needs to eat, but also of their happiness and joy and pleasure they all get from the alimentation." Carmen Petcu's paper aims at deconstructing the gender of fiction by giving expression to aspects of *the gender* gap in *fiction* reading, traditional gender stereotypes, and the influence of gender-role socialization.

The last section of the volumes is dedicated to mystic journeys and mythological figures. Irina Dubský starts her analysis by noticing the similarity between the existential adventure Melville projects in *Bartleby the Scrivener* and the sense of entrapment in and the desire to escape from a flawed condition of heavy corporeality dramatized in the Gnostic and Orphic myths and rituals. Carmen Ghinea introduces to us a new approach to Domnica Radulescu's *Train to Trieste*, seen as a story of the fairy-exile while the writer performs an unprecedented exploration of the tragic heroine from a feminist perspective. Adina Rădulescu's intervention on archetypal feminine figures in fairy tales is a study in archetypal psychology, whose aim is to identify the universal archetypal feminine figures, both positive and

negative, present in fairy tales and analyze them as symbols of different feminine psychological forces. Asking patients to make-up their own fairy-tales that would mirror the conflict submerged in their unconscious life is a modern technique used in psychotherapy, especially by Jungian analysts. Claudia Costin talks about representations of feminine monstrousness in the Romanian Mythology and brings arguments to prove that they are by far much more articulated and diverse, much more individualized and easy to recognize than the male ones. Corina Pantelimon Bistriceanu's argues that the "feminization" of the mythical representations corresponds to the representations – most of them pre-Christian – of the intertwined categories of life and death, purity and impurity. The confusion and the vagueness are the principal reasons of the association between woman and evil. Florența Popescu-Simion's article "La mort dans la ville: quand les hommes remplacent les femmes," talks about the attitudes women and men adopt as it comes to analyze the funeral customs. Death seems to have always been a women's affair in the Romanian villages while men were only assistants those who acted were the women. They are involved in organizing both the funerals and the postfuneral rites (alms, taking care of the tombs, etc.).

Ana Munteanu's paper aims to trace the feminine side of the imagination of water as it appears in poetry and looks at just one side of the metaphoric richness of water: its feminine side, the maternal principle, the subconscious, the dark side or the obscurity of the feminine psychic powers, and last, but not least, with the depths of the human mind. Anca Magiru's articles deal with Arthurian Legends exploring on one hand the theme of incest and its consequences on both psychological and real planes, and on the other the complex gender relationships in the medieval legend: knights and fairies or Animus and Anima. Lavinia Nădrag and Monica Bala argue that in a manly world, such as Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and *This Side of Paradise*, a woman is described as a mute object of desire (woman as moon), dominated by man's gaze (man as sun)."

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 190–192, ISSN: 2164-0262

MOVIE REVIEW

French "Cinderfella" Gives a Lesson in Gender Studies*

NANCY HONICKER
nancy.honicker@univ-paris8.fr
Université Paris 8



The movie *Jacky au royaume des files*, or *Jacky in the Kingdom of Girls*, is a masculine version of *Cinderella.*

Yesterday, I gave in to a secret pleasure. On a blustery, brilliant Parisian afternoon, a true exception in a winter of relentless rain and gray, I slipped

into the darkness of a movie theater to take in a matinee, a silly movie, a comedy, that turned out to be not so silly after all.

The title of the film, *Jacky au royaume des filles*, literally translates as *Jacky in the kingdom of girls*, but a much better title would be *Cinderfella*, because thatţs who Jacky is, a masculine version of one of the most beloved fairytale princesses, Cinderella.

Jacky lives in Bubunne, a kingdom where women rule and men obey, a desolate place with no gardens, parks or farms, no animals except for sacred ponies to whom boys pray, pleading to be turned into princes. While women patrol the streets, work in industry or govern – Bubunne is a military dictatorship, headed by a general about to step down in favor of her youngest daughter, "la Colonelle," the men and boys stay home to cook and clean. When they go out to shop or pray (sacred ponies don't come inside), they always dress in "voileries," a sack-like robe, something like a chador, that covers them from head to mid-calf, exposing their faces but covering the neck. Attached to the robe, just beneath the chin, hangs a silver ring. Upon marrying, wives can attach a leash to it to lead husbands through the streets.

The day the government announces "la Colonelle" will be giving a ball where she'll choose her consort, the royal "couillon," the number-one idiot of the land, all the boys go wild! Of course, Jacky is already in love with "la Colonelle" (aren't all the little boys?) and he dreams of going to the ball, but his mother dies and, taken in by a cruel aunt, with two husbands, by the way, he must stay home to cook and clean while his two cousins go instead. By now, I'm sure readers have got the gist – in at least two ways. Jacky will marry "la Colonelle," just like in the original. And this version of *Cinderella* is a fairytale turned upside down, with all the roles reversed: women in charge, men scrubbing the floors; women wearing the pants, men covered by veils; women choosing (or, as is also the case in the film, harassing, even raping) and men patiently waiting to be the chosen ones.

Jacky au royaume des filles, directed by Riad Sattouf, is a good movie and it offers viewers a good time. In no way is it a feminist manifesto, but it just so happens that the film has been released at a moment when the word "gender," as in gender studies, is making headlines in France. In fact, on Feb. 2, in Paris and Lyon, hundreds of thousands (according to organizers, far fewer, according to police) marched through the streets, waving pink and blue banners, protesting against a new program recently introduced in France's public schools. Called the "ABCD of equality," its goal is to undo stereotypes and promote equality between girls and boys from their earliest school days.

To give an example, in elementary schools, teachers work with images: a woman doing the shopping, a man repairing the kitchen sink, a couple cooking together, a little boy dressing up in a disguise. Students are asked

to sort pictures according to whether they point to stereotypes or not. Disagreement can lead to heated discussion, even among the very young. When one boy suggests it's OK for boys to cry, another protests: no! that means he's a girl. For this and for other ideas like it, such as using 19th-century paintings to discuss how women's and children's dress have changed or encouraging less violence on the playground, a part of France is up in arms – to the point that some parents, responding to rumors that the "ABCD of equality" is teaching their children to become homosexuals, intend to pull them out of school one day a month.

Alerted by SMSs that spread like wildfire, they are participating in a nationwide boycott initiated by Farida Belghoul, a militant for family values, close to Dieudonne and Alain Soral, whom I wrote about last month. Others are simply worried that schools are not doing their job, which is to teach children how to read, write and count. Still others feel public school is overstepping its bounds, making an unwarranted incursion into the private realm of family life.

In recent days, the whole affair reached proportions that forced Minister of Education Vincent Peillon to reassure the nation that the "ABCD of equality" does not equal "gender studies," a subject that will not be taught in French schools. In other words, although he is in favor of equality, far be it from him or the government to want to do away with one of France's most beloved mottoes, "Vive la difference!" But what's wrong with gender studies, I'm tempted to ask. After all, its founder is the French feminist Simone de Beauvoir, who famously wrote, "One is not born a woman, but becomes one" – although you might say she was inspired by a man.

In the 16th century, the Dutch humanist Erasmus wrote pretty much the same thing, claiming we become human, we are not born that way. In both examples, in the best cases, culture and society improve upon nature to make us who we are. Which brings me back to Jacky. In Bubunne, boys cannot go to school because the ruling regime does not want them to read. Inside or outside, they must be covered by a veil, hiding themselves from the roving gaze of females. And men and boys do all the dirty work, preparing the daily "bouillie" or slops, recycled human waste, the main dish in Bubunne.

Veils, slops and ignorance for men, silly stuff, isn't it? It doesn't seem very natural, does it? We all know men are strong and intelligent, the ones who rule the world! And women, well, aren't they the ones who do the dirty work? Ask yourself (and readers, please pardon my French), who cleans the toilet at your house? Nature or culture, which one determines the tasks that men and women assume in society? Jacky has taught me more about gender studies than the current debate stirring up French society.

*The present review was published in *Republican Herald*, February 23, 2014, http://pottsville-paris-express.blogspot.fr/2014_01_01_archive.html


SPIRU HARET UNIVERSITY, BUCHAREST
The Faculty of Letters
CALL FOR PAPERS
The Faculty of Letters (Spiru Haret University) in collaboration with the Center of Multilingual and Intercultural Studies of Faculty of Letters (Spiru Haret University) and the Central Research Institute (Spiru Haret University) invite proposals for the Conference:
GENDERED DIVISIONS OF SPACE
June 5-6, 2014
Conference venue: Spiru Haret University, Faculty of Letters, 13 Ion Ghica Street, Bucharest
Please send proposals (and inquiries) to ramona.mihaila@gmail.com


UNIVERSITÉ SPIRU HARET, BUCAREST
Faculté des Lettres
APPEL À COMMUNICATION
La Faculté des Lettres (Université Spiru Haret) en collaboration avec
Le Centre de Recherche de la Faculté des Lettres (Université Spiru Haret)
et L'Institut central pour la Recherche scientifique (Université Spiru Haret)
annoncent la Conférence :
PARTAGES GENRÉS
DE L'ESPACE
Juin 5-6, 2014
Lieu de la conférence: Université Spiru Haret, Faculté des Lettres
13, rue Ion Ghica, Bucarest
Propositions à renvoyer par courriel à l'adresse suivante: chapelanmihaela@yahoo.com

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 195–201, ISSN: 2164-0262

International Conference
Gendered Divisions of Space

•

Spiru Haret University, Bucharest
June 5–6, 2014

In recent decades, studies regarding the space as well as "gender studies" have mobilized the attention of many researchers. If, broadly speaking, we may say that the English-speaking world has been more interested in gender studies; the French-speaking half is the origin of a renewed interest in the representations of space. Theories developed by Michel Foucault, Marc Augé, Michel de Certeau, Henry Lefebvre, Jean Baudrillard and Félix Guattari have contributed to the emergence of a true "spatial turn."

Thus the conference *Gendered Divisions of Space*, organized by Ramona Mihăilă (coordinator of the English section) and Mihaela Chapelan (coordinator of the French section), brought together a mix of scholars from 16 countries: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ivory Coast, Italy, Morocco, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Tunis and the United States.

The conference was opened by the keynote speech given by Mihaela Miroiu who talked about an interesting study she had conducted on women and their experience in communist Romania. The next keynote speech was offered by Anca M. Sprenger who examined Gabrielle Roy's fictional work and showed that, despite an apparent traditional, male-imposed division of space, there is a constant transgression of "gendered" space limitations.

The conference was divided into 10 panels around three main axes: "Women' space," "Men' space," and "Transgressions and intermingling of use;" while the presentations came from various fields: sociology, history of mentalities, the visual arts, geography, architecture, literature and focused on gendered representations where differences are modeling symbolic space.

The first panel "Gender Roles in Television, Advertising, and Virtual Spaces" was chaired by Daniela Rovența-Frumușani who talked in the opening speech about Romanian women in the public/private "dialogue." Mariangela Albano and Gaetano Sabato conducted a joint anthropological and linguistic approach to gender, spaces and roles in car commercials, while

Ruxandra Boicu talked about TV women journalists moderating presidential debates (professional control of verbal competitive interaction), mentioning debates televised in France. Otilia Pacea shifted discussion to blogosphere exploring the interplay of genre and gender in building spatial awareness, particularly in the case of two prominent blog subgenres: food and travel blogs and Ana Maria Chisega-Negrilă surveyed gender differences in bi-learning focusing on teaching language courses in the military environment.

The next panel, "Occupy Political Space! Why and How?," whose chair was Mihaela Miroiu, focused on gender issues in the Romanian society, thus Alina Dragolea compared the spaces of welfare and the spaces of gender analyzing the perceptions about welfare and institutions among Romanian men and women. Miruna Pantel offered methods of integrating the gender perspective in the public expenditure analysis in private space to the public agenda. Andra Nimu asserted that there is no more space for women's NGOs as a result of analyzing aspects of civil society in Romania versus European Funding. Oana Băluță analyzed the facts that support and feed the gendered spaces in politics displayed on Facebook while Tudorina Mihai's presentation focused on gendered space of political representation talking about loyalty and dissidence of the Romanian women MPs. In the end Liliana Herrera raised questions about academic hierarchies and gender representation in university management, emphasizing the reduced number of women appointed as managers in the education system.

Margaret Gillespie chaired the panel "Feminist and Female Experiences in Literary Spaces" and she talked about gender, race, space and cultural production and performance of identity in Nella Larsen's *Passing*. Mirka Ahonen defined the *banlieues* as oppressive places, or as *non-places*, meaningless spaces of transit and anonymity for the female characters in Faïza Guène's *Kiffe kiffe demain*. Artemis Michailidou examined the intriguing configurations of space in Tracy Chevalier's first novel, *The Virgin Blue* while Cristina Nicolaescu offered a glimpse of feminism in Canada by analyzing Carol Shields's *The Republic of Love*. Iulia Waniek surveyed the gendered spaces in Heian texts written by women.

The fourth panel was dedicated to "private & public spaces in the 19th century Romanian society," and was chaired by Luiza Marinescu who presented a paper about metamorphoses of the feminine space in the 19th century early modern Romanian literature while she compared two writers, Mihai Eminescu and Natsume Sōseki. Mihaela Hristea offered a historical perspective upon women's status in the nineteenth century Romanian society, Ludmila Branişte pinpointed aspects of femininity in the 19th century Romanian culture while Ramona Mihăilă brought into discussion the Romanian women's literary salons seen as spaces of their own. Carmen Duțu

revisited three Romanian sentimental novels and offered a feminist reconsideration of the public and the private sphere in the mid-19th century.

George Volceanov was the moderator of the panel "Women's Spaces in Cinematic and Theatrical Discourse," and his paper talked about women's spaces in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and their translation into Romanian. Krisztina Dankó analyzed the representations of gay space in Tennessee Williams' plays while Bianca Archip surveyed misogyny with the shift in meaning and its consequences. Raluca Nicolae discussed about the Japanese spaces on the move and challenges of masculinity in Densha Otoko while Carmen Ghinea focused her study on Saviana Stănescu and the Cosmopolitan Theatre. Barbara Nelson tried to recuperate a woman's history announcing that in the Royal Archives in Bucharest, exists a virtually unknown contract proposal on D.W. Griffith letterhead to make a film based on the Odessa marriage and its disastrous aftermath of the Crown Prince Carol of Romanian and Ioana Valentino Lambrino.

The sixth panel, "Gender Dimensions of Space from Discursive and Psychological Perspectives," chaired by Susanne Hochreiter who talked about response and responsibility in a bilateral research project Romania – Austria, focused on the effects of virtual space divisions upon male/female brains described by Filip Bacalu, the gender and spatial reasoning presented by Victoriţa Trif, the development of the ability to adapt to school by valuing gender differences in educational space brought into discussion by Nadia Mirela Florea while Zoi Arvanitidou and Gasouka Maria pointed at the gendered dimension of dressing in work space.

"The Impact of Gender Roles on Society," chaired by George Lazăroiu, who talked about gender, discourse, and society, represented the panel that reunited papers concerning gender inequalities in higher education described by Elvira Nica, the feminine figures as social and characterological types in the nineteenth century satirical press analyzed by Ruxandra Coman, the impact of gender relations on macroeconomic policy presented by Gheorghe Popescu, ethical issues in doing research on human trafficking put into question by Kim Anh Duong while Felix Nicolau tried to answer if post-genderism entails a structured or a chaotic freedom.

In her speech as a chair of the panel "Gender Representations in History, Mythology and Politics," Luiza Oancea talked about the hero's space in Greek epic, and was followed by Kim Anh Duong who applied a gender-sensitive approach to engendering the evaluation of anti-trafficking policy while Mădălina-Teodora Andrei analyzed the international migration flows in the European Union. Alexandru Cârciumaru chose to present Margaret Thatcher as a Prime-Minister symbol while Ioana Olaru went deeper in history by mentioning the feminine representations in Prehistoric Art on the Romanian territories.

The panel "Images of Otherness in Transnational Spaces," chaired by Onorina Botezat who chose to show the gender space and images of the other in Martha Bibesco's *The Eight Paradises*, provided approaches to the recurring motif of marriage as a specific manifestation of the traditional women's space in Jane Austen's novels as they were examined by Ana Munteanu, mental spaces and meaning construction in fictional (gendered) narratives analyzed by Lorena Mihăeş, "queer" voices in and around the Melvillean text seen by Irina Dubský while Magdalena Ożarska announced three space-related motifs in life writing of Frances Burney, Dorothy Wordsworth and William Wordsworth.

And last but not least the panel "Gender Representations in Pluralist Contexts," whose chair was Ruxandra Boicu, gathered speeches about male and female symbols and features in architectural elements presented by Smaranda Maria Bica, gender analysis in architecture and urban planning as a possible framework for Romania, conducted by Raluca Niculae, Călin Vlad talked about Doria Shafiq, the Egyptian feminist fighter, Alexandra Dana Mărășescu presented aspects of Santiago Calatrava's style while Matei Luca Stoian compared Richard Mayer and Zaha Hadid as symbols of straight versus curve in architecture.

A special session, moderated by Ramona Mihăilă, was dedicated to promoting the European TN 1201 COST Project "Gender, Science, Technology and Environment – genderSTE," which particularly enhances "the implementation of gender-focused policy measures for structural change in science and technology institutions and integration of sex and gender dimensions in the content of science and technology. It also aims to develop knowledge and resources regarding the sex and gender dimensions of technological development and innovation processes, with specific attention to the Grand Challenges identified in Horizon 2020 and the Joint Programming Initiative (JPI) Urban Europe."

As it is clear that the socio-cultural construction of gender also involves the sharing of space, the conference *Gendered Divisions of Space* succeeded in crossing these two perspectives and reflecting on this gendered semiotization of the space. During conference an extremely rich variety of issues were addressed: hierarchical gender relations and traditional partitions of space; spatial dichotomies of real public / private type open / closed / fantasy; "spatial duty" of women; increasing awareness and perception highlighting stereotypes; the effects of the sexual division of labor in the management of the premises; modern trends in the field.

Ramona Mihăilă
Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University

Conférence Internationale
Partages Genrés de l'Espace

•

Université Spiru Haret
Juin 5–6, 2014

Le Centre d'Etudes interculturelles et plurilinguistiques de la Faculté de Lettres et l'Institut central de Recherches scientifiques de l'Université « Spiru Haret » de Bucarest ont organisé les 5 et 6 juin 2014 la conférence internationale *Partages genrés de l'espace / Gendered Divisions of Space*. Cet événement scientifique représente une première activité d'importance déroulée dans le cadre du projet de recherche portant le même titre. Le projet est dirigé par Mihaela Chapelan, maître de conférences à la Faculté de Lettres, et jouit du soutien financier et logistique de l'Agence universitaire de la Francophonie, Bureau Europe centrale et orientale, une institution qui même en temps de crise économique ne s'est pas désistée de sa mission d'aider au développement de la recherche scientifique de l'espace francophone. Un grand nombre de chercheurs, enseignants et doctorants de divers pays (Belgique, France, Albanie, Autriche, Grèce, Italie, Brésil, Maroc, Côte d'Ivoire, Finlande, Pologne, Hongrie, Roumanie, Tunisie, Etats-Unis etc.) ont participé à cette conférence dont les travaux se sont déroulés en deux grandes sections : l'une en langue française et l'autre en anglais.

La section en langue française a bénéficié d'une présence internationale digne d'être signalée, le nombre élevé de participants étrangers prouvant que le projet a su trouver une thématique fédératrice, assez rarement abordée et pourtant d'une réelle actualité dans le monde contemporain. Les communications ont été présentées lors des séances plénières qui ont occupé les matinées des deux journées de la conférence, ainsi que dans les diverses sections parallèles des après-midi, centrées autour de trois axes principaux de recherche: Espaces du féminin ; Espaces du masculin ; Transgressions et mixités d'usage

A l'ouverture officielle ont pris la parole Manuela Epure, vice-rectrice de l'Université « Spiru Haret », qui a souligné l'intérêt et le soutien particuliers que les responsables de l'université portent aux activités de recherche, et Mihaela Chapelan, qui a présenté les objectifs et les retombées scientifiques attendues par la mise en place de ce projet interdisciplinaire.

Moufida El Bejaouai (Université Mohamed V de Rabat, Maroc) a ouvert les travaux proprement-dits de la conférence avec la communication « Histoire d'une enfance au harem dans « Rêves de femmes » de Fatéma Mernissi, » une subtile analyse de l'espace typiquement féminin du harem, en tenant compte des différences opérées par les hiérarchies sociales mais aussi par les clivages spatiaux (ville / campagne). Stefano Montes (Universités

de Palerme et d'Agrigente, Italie) a pris en discussion les rapports entres gestes et éléments spatiaux, tels qu'ils ressortent de l'analyse de la nouvelle « Evelyne » de James Joyce. Mihaela Chapelan (Université « Spiru Haret », Roumanie) dans sa communication « Valeurs symboliques de l'espace », a mis en débat les divisions et les valeurs genrées symboliques de l'espace, imposées non pas par une pratique quelconque de l'espace mais par des conventions littéraires et interprétatives. Elle a illustré ses conclusions par l'analyse en termes bachelardiens d'une nouvelle de Mircea Cărtărescu. Anne-Lucile Gerardot (Université de Reims, France) a présenté la communication intitulée « Une femme au café : traversée urbaine et transgression érotique dans l'œuvre de Marguerite Duras, » où elle démontre avec beaucoup de rigueur analytique la dissolution des diverses dichotomies spatiales (public / privé, masculin / féminin, interdit / permis).

Dans sa communication « Se partager les lieux : les affres du couple moderne chez Jean-Philippe Toussaint », Lidia Cotea (Université de Bucarest, Roumanie) a établi de subtiles connexions entre la claustration dans l'espace de l'intimité et la quête identitaire de certains personnages problématiques, profondément marqués par le tourbillon de plus en plus dépersonnalisant de la vie moderne. A'icha Kathrada (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, France) dans son intervention sur Le symbolisme de l'espace réel et imaginaire au féminin a abordé les divisions spatiales du point de vue des personnages de Virginia Woolf, en établissant des relations avec l'effort de construction d'un modèle d'écriture féminine. Cette première partie des débats a été clôturée par l'intervention de Manon Delcour (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgique), qui a analysé d'une perspective psychanalytique l'espace du domicile familial dans l'œuvre d'Hélène Lenoir, espace qui contrairement à ses fonctions primordiales s'avère être perturbant, aliénant.

La séance plénière de la deuxième journée de conférence a été tout aussi riche. A titre d'exemple nous mentionnons les interventions d'Agathe Roby (Laboratoire FRAMESPA, Université Toulouse II Le Mirail, France) et de Luminița Diaconu (Université de Bucarest), qui ont exploré toutes les deux l'univers spatial du Moyen Age, la première interrogeant de la perspective de l'histoire des mentalités un phénomène de société souvent mis à l'écart, à savoir la prostitution féminine, tandis que la deuxième a favorisé l'analyse des représentations littéraires, telles qu'elles se présentent dans les *Lais* de Marie de France, en mettant en évidence quelques modalités de transgression par l'imaginaire de l'espace du domicile conjugal. A son tour, Ileana Mihăilă (Université de Bucarest) a abordé avec verve une problématique typique à la mentalité des Lumières françaises: la modalité dont l'espace intime d'une résidence aristocratique devient un élément déterminant dans l'acte de séduction libertin. Quentin Julien nous a ramenés dans

l'actualité par l'analyse d'une pièce de théâtre de Marie Dilasser, inspirée des conflits et des drames d'un village tchétchen frappé par la guerilla.

Les travaux des sections parallèles, dirigés par Gabriel Popescu (Université de Craiova, Roumanie), Idriss Amid (Université de Bologne, Italie), Cecilia Condei (Université de Craiova, Roumanie), Léonie Monginou (Université Paris VIII, France), Andreea Lupu (Université « Spiru Haret », Roumanie) et Valeriu Marinescu (Université « Spiru Haret », Roumanie) ont également fait preuve d'une grande ouverture théorique, se démarquant comme autant de prises de position pertinentes et originales sur le sujet débattu. Les multiples interventions ne nous permettent pas de les mentionner toutes, mais chacune à sa façon a ouvert de nouvelles pistes de reflexion qui deviendront peut-être des points de départ pour de futures rencontres.

Mihaela Chapelan
Spiru Haret University

Journal of Research in Gender Studies
Volume 4(1), 2014, pp. 202–207, ISSN: 2164-0262

« Tu ne seras jamais seule »

Interview avec l'écrivaine Karima Perrin



(Crédit photo Karima Perrin)

propos recueillis par Gabriela Iliuta
Université Chrétienne « Dimitrie Cantemir »,
Bucarest

GI : Karima Perrin, nous voilà avant un moment douloureux de votre vie: il y a 11 ans, en février 2003, votre mère quittait ce monde qu'elle avait, malgré tout, beaucoup aimé. Mais « par la fin, tout commence » comme vous l'avez écrit dans votre beau roman *Tu ne seras jamais seule*. Est-ce que vous ressentez encore « cette main invisible qui surplombe votre vie »?

KP : Et oui, plus que jamais ! A mesure où je grandis – ou vieillis, question de perspective – je ressens à quel point je suis sur ses traces et comme elle n'aura jamais été aussi vivante. Je ressens cette responsabilité d'être son héritage présent, d'honorer ce qu'elle était, et sa transmission. Alors oui, cette main invisible continue de me guider sur les chemins que je dois prendre aussi bien personnellement que professionnellement. Il n'est pas rare, que, face à un problème, je prenne la photo de ma maman qui trône sur mon bureau et je la questionne : « que m'aurais-tu conseillé de faire ? » Après ce moment de recueillement, je me sens très triste, face à la solitude, puis tout à coup plus sereine, comme si j'entrevoyais la solution. Cette

main invisible est mon moteur au quotidien, sans laquelle je ne voudrai m'accomplir. Cette main invisible est aussi ce qui m'a permis de survivre à ma mère. 11 ans qu'elle n'est plus. Jamais je n'aurai imaginé accomplir tout ce chemin, sans elle. Pour moi, à 19 ans, la vie était inconcevable sans elle. La résilience et la vie en ont décidé autrement…

GI : Votre mère, qui est, avant tout, un exemple de réussite, est-elle encore la «bonne étoile» qui veille sur votre destin ?

KP : C'est quelque chose de très intime, presque de l'ordre du mystique à exprimer. En fait il n'est pas rare que je ressente l'énergie de ma maman. Le fait que je n'ai jamais quitté l'appartement familial doit aussi y être pour beaucoup. Son histoire est inscrite dans les murs, sur les meubles, certains linges de maison sont encore imprégnés de son odeur… Comme tout le monde dans la vie, j'ai des moments de faiblesses, ou de déprimes, puis soudain une lumière vient enjoliver ma vie. Je suis extrêmement bien entourée, de personnes très bienveillantes, qui m'expriment leur amour au quotidien par des petits et grands mots. Je prends chacune de ces rencontres comme des petits anges venus du ciel envoyés par ma mère, pour apaiser ma solitude. Me donner de l'amour et de l'affection comme elle aurait pu le faire. Et finalement comme le dit mon titre ; ne jamais me laisser seule. Moi la fille unique qui a perdu toute sa vie, en perdant sa maman, si jeune.

GI : Vous êtes restée seule à seulement 19 ans et vous avez écrit votre roman à 27 ans. A présent vous êtes mère, écrivaine et journaliste indépendante. J'imagine que votre parcours ait toujours été difficile, parlez nous-en un peu.

KP : Très étonnamment, grâce à la bonne étoile de ma mère qui brille et me protège, je pense avoir été facilité à plusieurs niveaux. J'ai toujours su que j'allais devenir journaliste, et ma mère aussi qui s'épuisait devant ma curiosité débordante. Ma mère m'a inculqué la nécessité des études, et le devoir d'excellence. Alors quand j'ai perdu ma mère à ma deuxième année de fac, j'aurai pu me laisser couler, et devenir une jeune fille perdue, se noyant dans son chagrin. Au lieu de ça, j'avais fait la promesse à ma mère que je réussirai à approcher le plus possible mes rêves. Alors, encore aujourd'hui, je ne sais, pas quel exploit, j'ai réussi mes examens années après années, sans jamais redoubler. Je pense que les études ont été mon exutoire. En apprenant par cœur des textes et des cours, je n'avais pas le temps de penser à ma peine. Pas de temps de m'apitoyer sur mon sort, je ne me suis jamais laissé le choix. C'était comme ça et pas autrement. Si je ne réussissais pas, personne n'allait me rattraper. Je pense aussi avoir fait les bons choix de vie personnellement. Je me suis laissée le temps à l'amour.

Je me suis mariée, puis j'ai divorcé et ensuite je me suis remise en couple, et j'ai eu le grand bonheur d'être mère. L'amour me sauve, je ne pourrai être sans lui. L'amour me facilite ma vie, panse mes plaies et me permet de me révéler. Je crois énormément en l'amour. Voilà là ma grande chance dans la vie.

GI : Votre adoration pour la Wonder Woman qui a été votre mère y est évidente à telle point que vous avez renoncé à vos propos de narrateur pour lui donner la parole. Comment avez-vous pris la décision d'écrire votre roman et pourquoi avez-vous pensez à cette technique de la substitution des voix narratives ?

KP : Ce fût une évidence, je me suis moi-même jamais posée la question. Ma mère, de son vivant, m'avait parlé de son envie d'écrire un livre sur sa vie. Je lui avais promis que je le ferai pour elle, quand je le pourrai. Sans avoir forcé le destin, ce projet s'est imposé à moi. Comme si ma mère me disait : souviens-toi, ta promesse. Un cadeau du ciel, de mon étoile que je ne pouvais refuser. J'ai été guidée par sa force, et par son esprit tout au long du projet. Sa présence était si forte, qu'au final, je ne suis devenue qu'une plume. Je n'étais que l'intermédiaire vivant de son témoignage. Alors naturellement j'ai décidé que j'écrirai à la première personne, son omnipotence étant évidente. Une autre dimension a aussi nourri mon choix : l'histoire de ma mère, n'est pas la mienne… Ce procédé narratif était pour moi une manière, paradoxalement, de prendre de la distance. Je ne portai aucun jugement sur son histoire. Je ne la lisais même pas de l'extérieur. Je la vivais en elle le temps de mon écriture. Puis à la fin du projet, je me suis dédoublée et je suis redevenue moi-même. Laissant l'histoire de ma mère intacte. Heureusement, que de son vivant, ma mère a toujours beaucoup parlé de sa vie, alors des bribes de récits ont refait surface. Pour colmater certains faits, je me suis rapprochée de gens qui l'ont connu ainsi que de sa famille. Enfin, je me suis aussi enrichie de documents comme des lettres, des mails, des archives, pour compléter le témoignage. J'ai passé des heures à regarder des anciennes photos en décryptant la tristesse de son sourire, la fureur de son regard, la grâce de ses gestes… j'entendais presque son rire transparaître de ces clichés. Sa présence me réconfortait.

GI : Le critique et professeur Najib Redouane se demandait dans sa vaste étude Qu'en est-il de la littérature « beur » au féminin ? pourquoi les filles des émigrés maghrébins en France prenaient-elles la plume. Vous identifiez-vous à la littérature « beur » ?

KP : Oui et non. D'abord par la négative, puisque je suis issue d'un couple franco-maghrébin et j'ai eu une éducation très éloignée des codes maghrébins. Je n'étais donc pas prédestinée à m'identifier un jour comme une « beurrette », un terme finalement assez méprisable pour nommer les enfants d'immigrés. Ceci étant dit, comme beaucoup de jeunes de ma situation, je subis un questionnement perpétuel sur mes origines et notamment mon rapport à la culture maghrébine et musulmane. Dans cette remise en question, je me sens investie d'une mission de transmission. C'est pourquoi dans la première partie de mon livre, consacré à la guerre d'Algérie, puis des conditions en bidonvilles en France, je me suis beaucoup documentée, et j'ai consulté les archives nationales. Comme pour imbriquer la petite histoire dans la grande Histoire, celle commune qui caractérise les franco-algériens. Dans cette mesure, je pense que la littérature « beur » comme le qualifie Najib Redouane est une nécessité. Un devoir que nous avons de relater ce que l'on ne nous a jamais appris dans les manuels d'histoire. Un devoir pour nos précédentes générations, mais aussi celles à venir. Sur la question de la littérature proprement féminine chez les beurs, je pense peut-être qu'il s'agit de sensibilité. Les hommes sont plus factuels, à s'intéresser aux chiffres et aux évènements. Tabis que les femmes s'attarderont dans l'émotion. Pour conter une histoire familiale, l'affect doit être posté au premier plan. Mais très vite je me rends compte que cette analyse est peut être très simpliste, surtout au regard d'auteurs comme Azouz Begag ou Mehdi Charef qui ont signé de beaux ouvrages de transmission…

GI : « Toujours plus fidèle à la tradition que moi » observait votre mère dans le roman. L'êtes-vous encore ? Comment ressentez-vous cette filiation double, franco-algérienne ?

KP : Là encore je pense être que le fruit d'une génération, je suis peut-être même la caricature ultime de celle-ci. Nos parents venus en France ont tous eu à l'époque un réflexe « d'intégration ». S'intégrer à tout prix, s'approprier les codes de la nouvelle société, s'acclimater malgré les chocs culturels… Les enfants de cette génération ont gouté à la désillusion, se sont casser les dents sur le plafond de verre qui sépare les « basanés » des « non basanés ». Peut-être pas de manière frontale, comme à l'époque des années 80, mais de façon plus ou moins sournoise, qu'il s'agisse d'un refus de poste, ou d'une réflexion maladroite. Alors ma génération, désarmée, a pu choisir le refuge dans la filiation des parents. Je pense même que c'est un chemin nécessaire dans la quête de soi, lorsqu'on oscille entre les deux cultures : choisir entre l'un ou l'autre, lutter, aimer et haïr. Pour finalement quelques années plus tard, choisir la sérénité. Ne plus tenter de faire le choix entre l'Algérie OU la France, mais accepter la double-filiation dans

sa globalité. Alors moi-même j'ai eu des choix de vie, qui m'ont balancé d'un côté ou de l'autre de la Méditerranée. Jusqu'à vivre les choses de façons plus extrêmes et intensément. Par exemple, je me suis mariée en Algérie, et je voulais à tout prix porter les sept tenues lors de la cérémonie. Alors que les algériennes elles-mêmes ne le célèbrent plus comme ça. Ce besoin de faire mieux que les autres pour revendiquer mon identité. Aujourd'hui, même si je suis un peu plus apaisée, je ne pense pas déjà avoir trouvé mon équilibre. Les rencontres, les lectures, les discussions, et même et surtout, mes articles… chaque jour qui passe me permet d'enrichir, d'assumer et me pacifier dans ma double filiation.

GI : Toute sa vie, votre mère a fait de grands efforts pour s'imposer dans le monde de l'Autre : elle a renoncé à son nom à résonance exotique, elle parlait un français encore plus soigné que celui des Français, elle est devenue une office woman à la française, elle a suit ses amours partout dans le monde…tout cela pour effacer le stigmate de « bougnoule ». Est-ce que l'Autre occupe la même place de premier ordre dans votre existence ?

KP : Malheureusement les années passent et les maux de la société restent inchangés concernant les questions d'immigration en France. Je suis née en 1983, l'année de la marche des beurs, une époque où l'on tuait des arabes en France, des bougnoules parce qu'ils représentaient l'envahisseur, l'incivile. 31 ans plus tard, les mentalités sont encore très archaïques ici et je subis moi-même du racisme et des injustices au quotidien. Le problème aujourd'hui c'est que l'Autre est aussi… moi. Là est la véritable césure ! Comment combattre un Autre qui me rejette, alors que je suis lui ?! Alors en réaction, il peut m'arriver de revendiquer mon identité arabo-musulmane, plus que ne l'aurai sûrement fait ma mère, c'est certain. En réalité, vous savez c'est une sorte de schizophrénie perpétuelle… une lutte qui n'a que pour celle remède : la tolérance de l'une et de l'autre parti !

GI : La fin de votre roman est particulièrement touchante, vous y avez mis toutes vos larmes, toute votre sensibilité. C'est comme une lettre que votre mère aurait voulu vous écrire juste avant son départ où elle vous assure de sa présence dans votre vie et elle vous donne quelques conseils. Suivrez-vous l'exemple de celle qui « s'est sûrement brûlé les ailes » à force d'avoir « volé très très haut » ?

KP : J'ai encore du mal à relire ce passage en effet, c'est la partie où je me livre le plus. Pour tout vous dire, au début il était question d'un ouvrage en trois volumes avec la vie de ma grand-mère, celle de ma mère, puis la mienne. J'ai préféré articuler mon récit autour de l'histoire de ma mère, puis

il y a ce dialogue avec sa mère qui permet de lever le voile sur l'existence de ma grand-mère. Et enfin je termine par la génération future de cette ligné matriarcale : la mienne puis celle de ma fille. Car oui, à la fin, du livre je dévoile ma grossesse, sans connaître le genre, ironie du sort, je continue la filiation des femmes.

Pour revenir à ce passage très émouvant, chaque jour qui passe je me vertu à suivre l'exemple de ma mère. Elle me hante totalement. Je devrai vouloir me défaire de cette emprise qu'elle a sur moi, mais elle me réconforte. J'assume très mal d'être la « mère de… », sans plus être « la fille de… ». Alors en laissant ma mère décider inconsciemment pour moi, en lui donnant une part si importante dans ma vie, je la laisse vivre et je lui redonne le pouvoir sur moi. J'aime l'image qu'elle a laissée dans mon esprit. Je n'ai jamais tenté de la dénaturer d'un angélisme propre aux morts. Non, je connaissais et j'ai même analysé ses failles. Sa fureur de vivre. Sa colère. Sa rage. Mais je ne retiens que l'amour. Sa tendresse. Sa générosité. Son sourire. Et si un jour, ma fille parle de moi en ces termes. Si une simple pensée de moi pourrait l'apaiser quand je ne serai plus là. Si elle trouverait son équilibre malgré tout grâce à l'amour (et surtout à la démonstration de l'amour) que je lui aurai porté. Alors j'aurai réussi d'être la femme, et d'être la mère que j'aurai aimé être… à l'image de la mienne !

ISSN 2164-0262